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CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN MADRAS

DEFECTS AND DRAWBACKS

THE PROBLEM OF INDEBTEDNESS

MR. V. RAMADAS PANTULU'S ADDRESS AT GUNTUR CONFERENCE

The following is the Presidential address of Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu delivered at the Guntur District Co-operative Conference held at Tenali a few days ago :—

The most recent survey of the Co-operative Movement in this Province is that made by Mr. D.N. Strathie, our esteemed and popular Registrar of Co-operative Societies. The address which he delivered at the University a few weeks ago is a vigorous and thought-provoking one and some of the questions raised by him are of a fundamental character. Mr. Strathie asked, at the outset, if there was a genuine and wide-spread demand for co-operative credit in our villages and if it was not forced from above. It is somewhat difficult to answer this question precisely. It is true that the co-operative credit movement in India was not, at its inception, "popular" in the sense that it was in Germany and some other western European countries. But, even there, it was not altogether spontaneous. Much preparatory propagandist work had to be done by the pioneers and the State had recognised and aided the Movement, though slowly. It was everywhere one of the primary duties of the pioneer co-operator to explore the existing situation, find out the real economic and social needs of the people and educate them to demand the type of co-operative institutions and facilities which will satisfy those needs. It is not always necessary to demand of would-be co-operators to establish the existence of the conditions of desperate need which gave rise to the co-operative movement in some countries. Co-operation in many countries was no doubt at first resorted to as a measure of salvation, but it has been increasingly applied as a means to greater efficiency and profit. It need not always be the lever to raise people from depths of economic misery. It may be utilised as a proper channel for the better distribution of resources to all classes of people on an equitable economic plan.

Is There Need For Co-operative Credit?

In regard to the need for co-operative credit in this province, some of Mr. D. N. Strathie's conclusions are a challenge to the rural economist as well as the practical co-operator. Mr. Strathie is inclined to agree with the opinions expressed by the Madras Board of Revenue in 1896 that the need for rural credit was much less felt in this province than elsewhere, that terms of money lending have been far from usurious and that repayments were not rigidly enforced by the ryot money-lenders who, according to the Board, constituted the most numerous class of money lenders in Madras, unlike in Bombay and Northern India, where, generally speaking, money-lenders were alien and unrelenting in their methods of exaction. This idyllic picture of neighbourly accommodation rendered by the wealthy ryots to their poorer brethren, partly based on testimony of writers like Dewan Bahadur Sreenivasa Raghava Iyengar and Sir Nicholson himself, is in my opinion perhaps overdrawn of conditions that prevailed even in 1896. At any rate, it does not seem to be an accurate picture of the present day village economy. The Board of Revenue and the Local Government in Madras have always been accustomed, I may say interested, in painting a rosy picture of the prosperity of our villages in order to defend their land revenue policy. The Madras Board of Revenue had never any great faith in the possibilities of agricultural improvements by the ryots nor had it to its credit any notable measures for the amelioration of the Madras peasant. The opinion of the Madras Board of Revenue about the inefficacy of co-operative credit, on which Mr. Strathie laid considerable emphasis, will therefore hardly carry conviction to co-operators in this province.

Indebtedness and Usury

Mr. Strathie considers that the Madras Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee over-estimated the rural indebtedness of the Province in putting it at Rs. 150 crores. Dr. P.J. Thomas, the University Professor of Economics and one of the members of the Committee, is of opinion that the Committee's figure is an under-estimate and the debt is nearer Rs. 200 crores. It is not, in my opinion, altogether necessary for the initiation and maintenance of co-operative societies in particular places to arrive at an estimate of the extent and character of the entire rural indebtedness of the province. It will be enough to investigate into the conditions fully and accurately in the particular locality before any type of co-operative society is organised therein. While I, therefore, consider that it is not a fruitful task for co-operators to discuss the relative merits of the several estimates of the total rural indebtedness of the Province, I must say that it can hardly be doubted that such indebtedness is almost universal among the agricultural classes and is in most cases of a ruinous type. This is the experience of many co-operators who are in intimate touch with rural life and is the inference of investigators who have made enquiries into the economic conditions of villages in typical tracts in South India, under the guidance of experts like Dr. Gilbert Slater.

I am unable to express an opinion on the question whether agricultural money-lenders preponderate in this province. Assuming they do, it is not in my opinion possible to say that they generally lend on easier terms than the alien or the sowcar money-lenders. The rates of interest may perhaps be less shocking than those demanded by the professional alien money-lenders. But an agricultural money-lender rarely makes advances for cultivation without coupling with the transaction an agreement for the sale of the produce at prices below the market rate or for the performance of certain free or low paid services. It is by such devices that many a poor agriculturist is permanently tied to the bigger ryot in the village and debt is perpetuated from generation to generation. The agriculturist money-lender soon develops into a middle-man, merchant or commission agent and exploits his indebted ryot brethren in all these capacities. He has a hunger for land which the alien sowcar has not and feeds his victims on credit till the latter are forced to part with their holdings for the liquidation of the debt. The example of the Punjab, where the agriculturist money-lender has now assumed a dominant position ought to put the Madras Co-operator on his guard against pinning his faith in the ryot money-lender. I commend to Madras Co-operators in this connection a perusal of pages 226—228 of Mr. Darling's book on "The Punjab Peasant."

Faith In the Movement

Co-operative credit is, therefore, in my opinion far more beneficial than other forms of rural credit. I remain unshaken in my faith that a well-conducted co-operative credit society ought to be and will be a boon to the agriculturist in this province. The circumstance that there are to-day many more bad societies than good ones, that overdues have mounted up and that there are numerous cases of frauds and benami loans, does not militate against the need for co-operative credit and the necessity for consolidating and expanding it. The fact is that the causes of the failure of co-operative credit are a little too complex to be explained away by any one factor like the economic conditions of the people or the lack of spirit of service in the local panchayat or want of an impartial handling of local affairs, by an administrator in charge of a district. Allegations are pouring in thick on every side. While depression has immensely added to our difficulties, any declaration of a fundamental lack of faith in the Co-operative Credit Movement at this juncture will be a most serious handicap to the pulling up of our societies. I am therefore happy to find that, notwithstanding its dominant note of pessimism, there is no evidence of such lack of faith in the movement on his part in Mr. Strathie's address.

Programme of Liquidation of Bad Societies and Registration of Good New Societies

Mr. Strathie was on unassailable ground when he criticised the policy of post-reform expansion of societies with a craze for the multiplication of their numbers with inadequate regard to considerations of soundness and efficiency in organising them. There will be few among informed co-operators who will dispute the fact that some of the bitter fruits that we are reaping to-day are the outcome of the programme of breathless expansion pursued by the first two Development Ministers to whom Co operation was entrusted under the Montague-Chelmsford dispensation. Take the Guntur district for instance. In the year 1920-21, after 16 years of the working of the Act, during which Registrars like Sir P. Rajagopalachariar and Diwan Bahadur R. Ramachandra Rao laboured for the popularisation of the movement, the Guntur District had 171 societies. The first two Ministers nearly doubled that number in 6 years and in 1930-31 the number of societies rose to 400. But how many of them show signs of vitality to-day? Perhaps not more than 100. While other causes may have come up for the deterioration of some of the societies, the root cause, in my opinion, is the bad organisation and hasty registration of many of them. It is not a new conclusion or inference of mine. I emphatically said so, in my address to the Andhra Provincial Co-operative Conference held at Peddapuram in 1926, when the expansion activity was at its height and signs of deterioration were not yet quite marked. I discussed the matter with Mr. Gray, the then Registrar of Co-operative Societies who attended that conference. All that he could tell me was that he was carrying out a definite programme laid down by the Government to register about 1000 new societies an year—more if possible. I have heard of cases of some Assistant Registrars having registered as many as 20 or 25 societies in a day in their camp in the vicinity of a railway station. It now falls to the lot of the present Development Minister, in spite of the protestations of a few who still proclaim their pathetic faith in the old discredited policy of "numbers," to draw up a programme of progressive liquidation of bad societies, perhaps fixing the number of societies to be so handled at about at least half that figure, namely 500 per year. But it is far more difficult to liquidate a society than to register it. Moreover, the liquidation of a large number of societies in any one area will have an adverse reaction on the movement and may have undesirable effects on the investing public and financing banks. Nevertheless, this difficult and unpleasant operation must be done. It must be spread over a number of years and areas must be carefully chosen. I hope the official and non-official agencies in the district will co-operate to weed out bad societies as soon as possible, for their continued existence will materially hamper the growth of even the healthy societies.

The process of liquidation of the bad societies must, however, be supplemented by a live simultaneous programme of rectification of the existing indifferent societies and registration of new societies in localities where there is a genuine demand for them and where reasonable prospects of their successful working are forthcoming. Though it may be a tall order to ask for a society in every village, it cannot be doubted that there are many good villages which are now without societies and where they ought to be planted as soon as possible. Non-official co-operators must take the lead in the organisation of good societies in uncovered areas. They must be able to convince the Registrar that their proposals were preceded by due enquiries into the local conditions and that they satisfied themselves that reasonable prospects of the successful working of the proposed societies exist. If these conditions are forthcoming, I hope the Registrar will not hesitate to register new societies. If the departmental policy is against even such cautious expansion, it must be reversed promptly. Otherwise, stagnation will set in and the enthusiasm of the people for the movement will vanish. I urge these considerations on the Government and the Depart-

(Continued on page 8)

FOR A QUIET CORNER

LIFE—NOT A PICNIC

A HARD LESSON TO LEARN

A MESSAGE OF HOPE

A year ago, after England had been shaken by the unusual occurrence of an earthquake, Mr. Punch lived up to his reputation for humour with a picture of an agitated mother attempting to console her child, whom the earthquake had awakened, with the words: "Go to sleep, darling, it was only an earthquake."

It was gallant, if not very effective, advice. We are as hard put to it to-day as that mother must have been, when we desire to speak words of comfort to many a grown-up who is suffering from the disasters that accompany a time of unexampled depression writes Dr. Sheppard in "Answers."

"Don't worry, it's a period of world slump; ten years from now everything will be better" is not much good to those who are right up against it.

ACTING AS SAFETY VALVE

What can one say, for instance, that is of any use to a man without a job and with a family? Perhaps we may help best if we keep silent, refraining, especially, from all bracing words, and give him the chance of having the "grouse" he is surely entitled to.

Sometimes it is quite a useful service to act as a sympathetic safety valve for those who have earned the right to complain.

I am not attempting here to address men and women who are being tried up to the limits of human endurance; rather I have in mind those who, considering the magnitude of the storm, are not doing too badly, and yet are always foreseeing and foreboding evil.

There are lots of those about, and they "didn't ought" to do it. Why is it that those who have least reason to complain are very often the first to do so, and to expect sympathy?

Recently I came across an admirable reference to this in "The Provincial Lady Goes Further," by E. M. Delafield: "We lunch with the Frobishers, who are depressed and say that the wages of everyone on the estate will have to be reduced ten per cent. (Query: Why are they to be sympathised with on this account? I am much sorrier for their employees.)"

KEEP YOUR HUMP TO YOURSELF!

The people who, without any legitimate reason, are always talking of their hard luck, and expecting their friends to sympathise, are really a public nuisance; in private they give a dreadful time to the luckless individuals who must live with them.

Of course, none of us in these testing days can avoid an occasional hump. Now and then everything looks so mouldy and the future so menacing that we can't get our head above the waters. There is nothing to be done then except keep our hump to ourselves if we can, and, so to speak, order a double aspirin and hope for the best.

"If I stoop
Into a dark, tremendous sea of cloud
It is but for a time——"

But my point is that there is no possible justification for continual complaining and all this heat and botheration on the part of those who are able to-day to carry on with at least a sufficiency of comfort and even security. For them the world depression—at its worst—only means doing without what their parents never had.

There is no surer way of shedding friends than by compelling them to be for ever listening to the tale of what is wrong with us and will soon be much worse. Even the most faithful will, in the end, step round the corner hurriedly when they see the Hot and Bothered One on the horizon; they simply can't do with any more. Their own troubles, probably worse and certainly less boring, are as much as they can bear.

Years ago I had an acquaintance, comfortably circumstanced, who remains in my memory as the last word in "grousers." How her poor husband used to rage and wilt under her moanings! One day I met her in the street—I hadn't seen her coming!—and thinking to anticipate her complaining by starting the conversation on a high level of cheerfulness. I remarked how well and jolly her children looked.

"Yes," she said, "they look all right, but I have a feeling that little—(naming her eldest) is sickening for the measles."

And off she went. So did I—when I could.

I was reminded the other day of that mother when someone told me the story—it may be a chestnut, but it was new to me—of the wife who went to her doctor to ask for a sleeping draught for her husband, who was suffering from insomnia. When the doctor handed her the medicine she asked at what hour he should take it.

"Madam," said he, "it's not for your husband, it's for you."

It might help the Hot and Bothered to remember that nearly all the troubles they foresee and forebode with such frequency will never come to pass. Was it in these columns that I told of the old gentleman who said on his deathbed that he had suffered all his life from troubles that never happened?

STANDING IN OUR OWN LIGHT

Anyhow, the story is worth repeating And if the worst that the Hot and Bothered prophesy does come to pass, their only hope of emerging from the trial with any credit is to arrive at the crisis as fit as may be.

If they are worn out then by fighting the imaginary combat beforehand they will have little chance in the real encounter.

To-day exists to enable us to get ready for what to-morrow may bring. There are little boys who can scarcely enjoy their holidays from school for thinking of the troubles of the coming term, and there are grown-ups who enjoy almost nothing for fear of what may lie ahead. But the difference between many a boy and many a grown-up of such a mind is that the boys keep their troubles to themselves, while the grown-ups make a song about theirs.

This is a disastrous business, at least when the song is unending. The worst shadows that hide the sun are often those that we make ourselves by standing in our own light, and none is longer or can darken our world and our home more completely than those that came from the continual foreboding of evil.

MASTERS OF OUR FATE

It is, of course, foolish and wrong to expect men and women to drift along without attempting to make provision against a rainy day—it was against over-thought, and not against thought, for the morrow that men were warned—but there is all the difference in the world between a careful and quiet preparation for what may arise and the public cataloguing of all the evils that the future will certainly provide.

One of the best recipes for a contented mind that I know is to think more frequently of happy than unhappy things, and to expect to-morrow either to bring more happiness than unhappiness or, as I think we may, at least enough strength to get on the top of trouble.

There is a sense in which we are the masters of our own fate. We can insist on this life yielding us a goodly measure either of joy or sorrow. We can create happiness by the very act of looking for it, as we can create misery by expecting it.

"I want you," wrote the great artist, Burne-Jones, to his eight-year old son, "to look at every lovely thing in this world and remember it, and forget all about the rest."

We cannot get through life without courage; morally as well as physically, the battle is still to the strong. Courage of heart we must have if we are to take life's next fence. Not to dwell or speak upon its possible menace, but to wait until it arrives and then throw our heart over it is the only way to ensure that we, as well as our horse, will get to the other side.

WON'T LAST THE PACE

Sooner or later we have all to realise that life is no picnic—a hard lesson for the young to learn. If we expect it to give us nothing but happiness and to minister merely to our enjoyment, it is of all things the most disappointing; indeed, it will let us down every time.

Life is neither a tragedy nor a picnic; it is a great and grave affair—in which most of us are glad to have been involved; but it has to be conducted with courage and terminated with honour if the best is to be got out of it.

The Hot and Bothered, those who trouble trouble before trouble troubles them and are perpetually prophesying evil, are disqualified at the outset, or, at least, handicapped in the race that must be run. They are tired in advance and will not last the pace.

I believe I am right in saying that the Founder of Christianity was the first of the world's great teachers to attach moral censure to the foreboding of evil. "Me merimnate," which means "Don't worry," was often on His lips.

A characteristic of every professing Christian should be that he is not of the worrying sort, but that his life is full of a certain gaiety of courage—hard to define but easy enough to recognise. He will never be asked to endure either in temptation or trial of other kinds more than he can bear. Let him therefore confront what lies ahead with words of hope and a stout heart.

Me merimnatē—don't worry or fuss. Don't speak as if the future held nothing but sorrow. Don't be numbered amongst the Hot and Bothered.

Through this dark and stormy night
Faith beholds a feeble light
Up the blackness streaking;
Knowing God's own time is best,
In a patient hope I rest
For the full day-breaking

—Whittier.

THE MEANING OF LIFE

(BY P. V. SESHAGIRI RAO)

Life is not the mere living. It is worship—it is the surrender of the soul to God and the power to see the face of God; it is service—it is to feel that when we die, whether praised or blamed, whether honoured or ignored, whether wealthy or destitute, we have done something to make the world we come to, better and happier than before.

* * * *

A man's life is not to be trifled away; it is to be offered up and sacrificed to honourable services, public merits, good causes, and noble adventures.

* * * *

Life is not, we may say, for mere passing pleasure, but for the highest unfoldment that one can attain to, the noblest character that one can grow, and for the greatest service that once can render to all mankind.

* * * *

I would have every one consider that he is in this life nothing more than a passenger, and that he is not to set up his rest here, but to keep an attentive eye upon that state of being to which he approaches every moment, which will be for ever fixed and permanent.

* * * *

We ought to regard our lives not as mere instruments of personal gratification, but as due to the service of God, and as given us to be employed in promoting the purpose of His will, in the happiness of our fellow-creatures.

* * * *

Life is a mission, duty therefore, its first Law. In the comprehension of the mission and fulfilment of that duty, lie our means of progress.

* * * *

Jesus too, has said enigmatically "He who loses his life shall find it." But the Blessed Lord Himself has said in language clear as crystal, and with all the elaboration of convincing argument which the Gita alone has graciously revealed for the benefit of humanity,—"Therefore apply thyself to work which ought to be done, but always without attachment to results; for performing action without attachment, man reaches the Supreme."

* * * *

All your achievements whether in art, literature, sport, or politics, may help you to live, but when the end comes, the esteem confidence and affection which you have collected round you, will help you to die.

* * * *

Our life, if it is to be beautiful and artistic, must exhibit symmetry and proportion between all its factors and faculties, elements and parts.

* * * *

Montague says "Grandeur of soul consists not so much in mounting and in pressing forward, as in knowing how to govern and circumscribe itself . . . and of all the infirmities we have, it's the most savage to despise our being."

* * * *

If length of days be thy portion, make it not thy expectation. Reckon not upon long life, but live always beyond thy account.

* * * *

As Shakespeare so pittily says "The time of life is short, to spend that shortness basely were too long. In the progress of business the means that Heaven yields must be embraced, and not neglected."

* * * *

Remember that knowledge, truth, love, beauty and goodness alone can give true vitality to the mechanism of existence.

* * * *

Spend your brief moments, then, according to nature's law and serenely great the journey's end, as an olive falls when it is ripe, blessing the branch that bore it, and giving thanks to the tree that gave it life.

Superfluous.

After the usual court formalities the magistrate surveyed the man in the dock.

"How old are you?" he asked.

The man in the dock shook his head.

"Dunno, yer 'onour."

"When were you born?" asked the magistrate patiently.

The prisoner raised his eyebrows inquiringly.

"'Strewth, guv'nor!" he exclaimed, "What's the good of that? Yer ain't thinkin' of givin' me a birthday present, are yer?"

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Her Alibi.

The young suitor looked annoyed.

"Doris," he said to his lady friend, "why didn't you introduce me to that fellow you stopped to speak to?"

"John dear," she replied, "be reasonable! How could I? I have forgotten his name."

"What!" he cried. "Then why did you call him darling?"

She shrugged her shoulders impatiently.

"Haven't I just said I had forgotten his name?" she returned.

* * * *

So Simple.

The country policeman peered round the hedge at the oncoming car. When it was almost abreast of him he sprang out into the road and held it up.

The car stopped in a few yards and the scared face of the driver looked out of the window.

"What's the idea?" he asked.

"Where's your licence?" asked the policeman.

"I've got it in my overcoat pocket, in the back of the car," replied the motorist.

"That's all right, then," said the policeman. "If ye've got it I don't need to look at it. But if you didn't have one I'd have to see it."

DICTATORS IN THE FASHION

WILL BRITAIN DECIDE FOR DICTATORSHIP?

THREE CANDIDATES FIT FOR THE POST

Seeing that the United States—the greatest Democracy in the world to-day—has just entrusted unexampled powers to its new President, an Answers' contributor discusses three national figures who might be called upon to don the mantle of "strong man" in the very unlikely event of Britain deciding in favour of even a limited Dictatorship!

A Dolf Hitler, the Nazi ex-corporal, reigns in Germany! One by one, the countries of Europe are following the example of Italy, and placing their government, to all intents and purposes, in the hands of one man. And that, after they have had plenty of time to study the effect of Fascist dictatorship in Italy, now in its eleventh year.

So it is, perhaps, not quite so extravagant as it might have sounded a few years ago to ask the question: Should Britain follow the example of Italy, Germany, and other countries, scrap its parliamentary machine, appoint a dictator, and go back from A.D. 1933 to B.D. I—to the first year of a British dictatorship?

When one-party government failed to save us from the dangers of the financial and trade crisis in 1931, statesmen of all three political "colours" united to form the National Government. That Government has achieved much, but it has made no impression on the unemployment problem, and very little on many other pressing questions. It is hampered by a parliamentary machine, which, according to critics, works well enough in normal times, but is too complicated and talkative to reach the speedy decisions needed in periods of difficulty.

GETTING A MOVE ON.

It is perhaps natural, therefore, that some should wonder whether the experiment of all-party government should not be carried a step further by the abolition of party politics entirely, and the handing over of the task of governing us to a benevolent dictator, able to arrive at swift decisions without the necessity of any talk at all, and wise enough to speak, when he does speak, for the whole British nation.

Those who toy with this idea imagine such a modern Cromwell saying:

"Houses are wanted. There are so many building operatives, master builders, and architects out of work. There are plenty of bricks, timber, and cement available. Very well, I will form a National Housing Corporation to-day. Arrange for representatives of the industry to meet me at 11 a.m. to-morrow morning. And tell them to prepare to begin work the following morning. Oh, yes, and one other thing! Tell them that the Government does not propose to permit them to stop until every slum in this country has been emptied and destroyed!"

Let us assume for a moment that the dream of such a dictator came true, and that we woke up one morning to find that Britain had decided to go back to the year B. D. I. Where should we find the new Cromwell needed to run the country?

THREE "PROBABLE STARTERS."

We must rule out both the King and the Prince of Wales, for, as is well known, the Throne stands above politics, and would remain so even in the unlikely event of a dictatorship being established.

Likewise we may eliminate both Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald and Mr. Baldwin from the list of candidates for the job, because both these statesmen would probably seize with avidity the golden opportunity thus presented to them to forget the cares of office, and flee to Lossiemouth or Bewdley!

It is extremely probable, indeed, that our dictator would rise from outside the present Parliament, which, because of its democratic nature, is not rich in potential Mussolinis.

Probably the three most likely candidates for the biggest task on earth would be Sir John Reith, Director-General of the B. B. C., Sir Oswald Mosley, one of the few public men in this country who have any affection for dictators, and Mr. Ernest Bevin, president of the Transport Workers Federation and the "Napoleon" of British Trades Unionism.

KNOWS WHAT HE WANTS.

Whatever view you may hold concerning the inevitable sins of both omission and commission of the British Broadcasting Corporation, it must be admitted that, under the guiding hand of Sir John Reith, it has been built up into an organisation unequalled in any other country in the world; indeed, more than one foreign nation has paid Sir John the supreme compliment of copying his methods.

That achievement was made possible by giving almost dictatorial powers to a man who knew what he wanted, and who, having once made up his mind, is immovable.

His enemies refer to him irreverently as the "Broadcasting Mussolini." His friends regard him as one of the greatest moral forces in Britain to-day. I use the words "moral forces" advisedly, for Sir John Reith is a strict churchman to whom religion is a very real guide in daily life; hence views which some consider are too narrow. Not for nothing does Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald always refer to him as the "Covenanter"!

Under Sir John Reith, would Britain be safely shepherded along the path of wisdom, justice, and righteousness? Emotion and sentiment have no place in his orderly mind. And his amazing organising abilities would almost certainly prove equal to the task.

Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the British Black-shirts, would certainly claim the job of dictator—if only on the ground that he thought of it first!

"A British dictatorship without me—impossible!" one can imagine him saying.

But then, this young man in a hurry could say the same about almost any Government, for since he first entered the House of Commons in 1918 he has been Conservative, Independent, Labour, and Fascist in turn. And he is still on the sunny side of forty!

OUR GREATEST ORATOR.

Sir Oswald Mosley, like Sir John Reith, knows what he wants. He also knows how to tell you what he wants. He has been called "the greatest orator of our time"; but he lacks the political acumen either of John Bright or the members of the present Cabinet. Otherwise he would never have believed that he could win over voters from the older parties by putting up posters on the hoardings—and getting young Valentinos, clad in close-fitting black shirts, to sell Fascist periodicals in Piccadilly Circus on Sunday evenings. And backed that belief, moreover, by going into the wilderness to await "the call."

Nevertheless, he would make a possible candidate for the job of dictating to this country if the day ever dawns when such a post is vacant. He has energy, enterprise, enthusiasm, and drive—and he has learnt all about it during his visits to Benito Mussolini.

THE BEST ISN'T GOOD ENOUGH.

"Ernie" Bevin, the third candidate for the post, is one that cannot be ruled out, if only because he has the ear of the British workers more surely than any other Labour leader.

He possesses mental powers and organising ability of a high order, too. Otherwise this man who began life driving a soda-water cart, and who is still young, would not have risen to be the first secretary of the most powerful labour federation in Great Britain.

Ernest Bevin's greatest asset is that he takes the trouble to "learn things." He wants to understand thoroughly not only his own point of view, but the other fellow's as well. His skill in cross-examining witnesses at Inquiries caused him to be nicknamed the "Dockers' K. C." To day he probably knows more about Capitalism — and Capitalists—than most of the members of the Conservative Party. And his wisdom reveals itself in his moderation both of views and speech.

Many believe that he will yet be the first Trades Union leader to move into No. 10, Downing Street as a Labour Prime Minister — unless he moves in as the Dictator of Britain. He, like the other two candidates named, would do that job as well as it could be done. Yet the majority of people will feel that the best would not be good enough. The age of Cromwell has passed for Britain. We British do not take kindly to the thought of a superman ruling over us.

SORRY HE SPOKE

The little man was expounding to his audience the benefits of physical culture.

"Three years ago," he said, "I was a miserable wreck. Now, what do you suppose brought about this wonderful change in me?"

"What change?" came a voice from the audience.

There were broad smiles, but the little man was not disconcerted.

"Will the gentleman who asked 'What change?' kindly step up here?" he said, suavely. "I shall then be better able to explain. That's right."

He grabbed the interrupter by the collar.

"When I took up physical culture," he said, "I could not even lift a little man; now I can throw one about like a bundle of rags."

And he flung the interrupter half-a-dozen yards along the floor.

'I trust, gentlemen, you will see the force of my argument, and that I have not hurt this gentleman's feelings by my explanation."

There were no more interruptions.

* * *

Both were very proud of their vocal abilities: for months they had squabbled over the question as to which possessed the better voice. At last, to settle bets they had made with each other, they arranged to give a recital before an eminent professor and abide by his judgment.

When they had concluded, the professor turned to the first, shaking his head sorrowfully.

"You're the worst singer I've ever heard," he said.

"Hurrah!" shouted the other. 'Come on! Pay me that fiver!"

"One moment, please," said the professor, quietly. 'You—er—well, you can't sing at all!"

* * *

"Does your husband expect you to obey him?"

"Oh dear, no! You see, he's been married before."

* * * *

There are many metals lighter than aluminium. The lightest of all, lithium, will float on water like a cork.

SMILE AWHILE

Farmer Giles was a terror to all the small boys around until Tommy Smitkins took him in hand.

"Good morning', Mister Giles," said Tommy, passing the milking sheds on his way to school. "I seed yer!"

"Seed me? What d'you mean?" roared the farmer, looking round.

"I seed yer waterin' t'milk!", said Tommy, passing on.

This conversation took place every day, in exactly the same way, until the exasperated farmer complained to the schoolmaster. Tommy was lectured and threatened with dire punishment if he repeated the offence. He promised to reform. Next morning he peeped in as usual.

"Good morning', Mister Giles. Ah say, Mister Giles."

"What is it now?" roared the farmer.

"Tha knows!" said Tommy.

* * *

The train was racing along at sixty miles an hour, and Robinson was dozing in a corner of his compartment when he was disturbed by a fellow-passenger rushing along the corridor.

"Excuse me," gasped this excited individual, "but is your wife a rather stout woman, wearing a brown costume and a red hat?"

'Yes," replied Robinson. "What's all the excitement about?"

"Excitement!' exclaimed the other. "The excitement is that she's just fallen out of the train."

"Good heavens!" shrieked Robinson. "Don't stand there doing nothing. Pull the communication cord. She's got the tickets."

* * *

"Man, what's the matter wi' ye?" a Scots doctor demanded of a patient. "Yer tongue's as black as my hat!"

"Aye, Ah spilt a bottle o' whisky on a new-tarred road?',

"Dear, dear! Did ye, now? What a pity! By the way, did ye notice the name o' the road?"

* * *

He was a member of the Royal Air Force band engaged to play during the season at a popular resort. At his lodgings he noticed that his butter seemed to get less and less; the more he bought, the worse it got.

One morning, before leaving for the band-stand, he stamped the butter with one of his regimental buttons thinking to detect tampering during his absence. The landlady saw the trap, helped herself to the butter and, with a grim smile, stamped it again with a regimental button she happened to possess.

On his return, the musician took one look at the butter, and summoned his landlady.

"Very good, missus," he said, cynically. "And how long have I been transferred to the Royal Fusiliers?"

* * *

"Too bad about the disappearance of Smith. He was a profound thinker."

"Yes, he was always thinking, no matter where he was. The last time I saw him he was in swimming, and he suddenly called out: "I'm thinking! I'm thinking!'"

"You fool! Smith spoke with a lisp."

* * *

Elsie: "My mummy got a nice present yesterday an' she threw her arms around daddy's neck. What does your mummy do when she gets a nice present?"

Eddie: "She tells Daddy she'll forgive him, but he mustn't stay out late again."

* * *

During history lesson the teacher asked, "What happened in 1483?"

"Luther was born," answered a boy.

"Correct! What happened in 1487?"

After a long pause. "Luther was four years old."

* * *

Persistent Tramp (successful at last): "Thanks, lady. Is there anything I can do by way of return?"

Housewife (shortly): "Yes—don't."

* * *

"See that man who just got out?" said the man in the corner of the compartment to the curate sitting opposite.

The latter nodded.

"Well, I knew him twenty years ago; he had a steady job at a modest but certain salary; he married a sweet-natured girl, and soon he was the father of a happy little family. He had great intellectual ability, vision, and the will to do things. Then, in an evil moment, he yielded to temptation and took to drink. What do you think he is to-day?"

"A penniless drunkard," replied the parson.

"No,' retorted the other. "He's a member of Parliament and owns a brewery!"

* * *

The new office-boy had an indifferent memory. His employer, tired of reminding him of his duties, instructed him to make a note of everything important he had to do, and to keep it beside him on his desk.

The next day the employer was glad to see a large note prominently displayed on the boy's desk.

"At last!" he murmured to himself. "My warnings have taken effect."

Complacently, he walked over to look at the notice. It read: "N.B. Leave office at six o'clock sharp."

* * * *

Husband: "I met Bolton in the City to-day, and the poor fellow was very despondent. He said he was perfectly willing to die."

Wife: "Why didn't you ask him to dinner?"

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Sane Sentiments on Sex

PREPARATION FOR MARRIAGE

A VITAL ARTICLE TO ALL

Some months ago, in one of my articles, I made the statement that a goodly proportion of the people in civilised countries are little better off than savages in some respects. I begin my article this week by repeating this—even though I suppose I shall, as I was before, be criticised for making it. But it is true. This is made evident by their foolish superstitions. their unnatural habits and their indifference to the sufferings of others, writes T. Bowen Partington in "Health and Strength."

One of the chief, if not the greatest, causes of this condition is to be found in the fact that we have not yet changed our system of education so as to include all those good things which go to make up a normal, and therefore desirable existence, capable of producing the greatest good to the greatest number. It is not only possible for young people to go through a public school, high school and college and come out without a knowledge of the most important truths of life, but it is very probable that they will do so, and in addition they are trained to be prejudiced against these who are teaching the real facts about man and the universe.

GROPING BLINDLY

Widespread is ignorance concerning the sexual function, and yet when viewed in the proper light it is essential for the health and happiness of the husband and his wife that there shall be knowledge and of the right kind. I have proof of this ignorance from the many letters. I get from week to week, and it is because of several such letters that I am writing the article. We all know that adult human beings are impelled in marriage to copulate, and observation has taught some of us that this impulse actuates many of our motives and influences our well-being, yet the average young man and his bride are left to grope blindly in darkness when it comes ta acquiring knowlege about how to best meet this requirement, and in this respect they are no more intelligent than the people who lived hundreds of years ago and are seemingly content with the superstitions and theories of ancient ancestors, which have, in nearly every other respect, proved to be fallacious and crude.

Of course, I well realize that a thorough analysis of the sexual act is made difficult by reason of its sacredness or "unspeakableness", and little more than bare mention of its occurrence is to be found, but so long as ignorance is deemed preferable to enlightenment, so long will misery prevail, and heaven knows how much misery there is in some homes because of discord and disharmony in the marital relation. Yet happiness and comfort could be readily enjoyed if information were obtainable and reason and common sense employed. That the sexual act is very much more frequently disappointing than mutually gratifying, is painfully evident, and even those who express a conviction that their relations are all that can be hoped for, will, in a burst of confidence to one whom they believe to be worthy and well qualified to advise, disclose circumstances which if they were not so tragic and disastrous, would be appallingly ridiculous.

NO RIGHT TO MARRY

In marriage means anything, it signifies not only the willingness, but implies an anxiety to assume the sexual relation, with its concomitant pleasures and ultimate results. And I say, here and now, that if young men and young women do not accept this view, then they have not the least possible right to marry. There are some women in particular who marry, yet all the time they have at the back of their minds that they will avoid, so far as it is possible, anything in the nature of sexual relations. Such young women are being unfair, they are entering into the marriage contract with their husbands without being prepared on their part to carry out its obligations.

Of course, we are told by some that there is no more pleasure, and far less satisfaction to be derived from the sexual act than is experienced by mere social intercourse, but to be so told is to be convinced that the guidance of individual instinct alone, which is greatly modified, not to say perverted, by education and social conventions, is not prolific of those relations which are necessary to mental and physical well-being. Copulation, coition, sexual congress, conjunction or embrace, are terms used to designate the union of the sexes in the act of generation. This involves the closest possible physical juxtaposition, after suitable preparation and entails the expenditure of more or less energy and effort. When we consider the motives which occasion the act, we are convinced that the chief characteristic and essential requisite to its proper fulfilment is mutuality. Any other condition except the one in which both parties are simultaneously actuated by the desire to both give and take delight, cannot bring to either all that this function affords.

COURTSHIP IN MARRIAGE RELATIONS

Cheerful acquiescence and eager participation its consummation are necessary for subsequent mental tranquility and satisfaction, be the other conditions and results what they may, and this is attained only with temporary physical fitness. Courtship, or soliciting favour by compliance with the wishes of another, is the preparation of the sexes for union, and, in order to be effective, every act of copulation should be undertaken with an abbreviated courtship. I do wish that many husbands would realise the truth of the last paragraph, There are far too many husbands who take their marital relations as a matter of course, they are selfish, they do not stop to think, and then they complain at what they term the "coldness" of their wives.

The "coldness" is not to be wondered at at all. We have always to remember, too, as I have so often stressed in these pages, that the aim, end and climax of copulation is orgasm, by which there is an involuntary depletion of the temporarily congested sexual organs. Complete and normal copulation is physiologically both voluntary and involuntary in either sex, and, for convenience of description, may be divided into three stages. The first or preliminary stage is wholly and completely under the control of the will, and consists in the preparation of charging of the system for the discharging progress, or orgasm. Under suitable conditions and surroundings, the solicitation of favour is manifested by a mutual interchange of gentle caresses which in themselves merge into acts that are reciprocal and progressive. and which elicit delightful anticipatory subjective sensations.

The nervous sensations are increased and intensified to a height where mental control is no longer possible, and involuntary acts ensue in which every portion of the being seems to take an active part and by which the sexual apparatus is depleted and the nervous tension relieved. The subjective sensations accompanying these involuntary actions it is impossible to describe adequately, as there are no feelings akin to them and nothing known to the human kind is comparable therewith. Suffice it to say that there is the greatest possible emotion, with occasions convulsive muscular agitation, and a sort of scattering or explosion that is profoundly reactive.

THE IDEAL RARELY ATTAINED

The final stage is one of delightful relaxation with a sense of comfort and well being, and a tendency to sweet repose which is followed by a mental attitude that secretly cherishes a sacred memory of the circumstance, entertains the kindliest feelings toward the partner and subsequently seeks a repetition with impatience.

The above is the ideal, but how seldom is it attained. More often than not, in the case of the husband, the marital relation is attended with disatisfaction, whilst the position is worse with the average wife. All too often, instead of relaxation, with a body tingling under an invigorated and equalised circulation, her rest is disturbed by undue tension, her mind filled with reproaches and her senses disgusted while outraged but kindly Natures struggles to restore tranquility.

What the wife deems a sacrifice had failed to satisfy her consort, brought upon herself a loathing for the things that she should cherish, and until her sex again asserts itself she feels dissatisfied with life, considers herself a martyr and marriage a failure. If she be fortunate enough to have previously experienced the profound effects and sensations of physiological copulation, her recurrent cycle of physical fitness awakens memories that overshadow and blot out her disappointment, but, if she has no knowledge of these and there be frequent repetitions of acts that give no pleasure and satisfaction, she gradually drifts into a life of increasing misery and dissatisfaction.

That things are not right in so many homes, so far as the sexual life is concerned, is evident from the large number of "nervous" women. Many more members of the "weaker sex" are afflicted by "nervousness" than are those of the masculine persuasion; and when we look for the causation of this well-known condition, we are prone to forget that both are subject to the same inexorable natural laws and we are too apt to be guided by misdirected sentiment and, by reason of a thoughtless want of knowledge, the condition is ascribed to other and less prolific causes.

NORMAL AND ABNORMAL

Diseased states may be considered as exaggerated or intensified physiological conditions, in which there is an added effort of Nature to overcome an impediment to the performance of a natural function, or disease is the "abnormal performance by one of more organs or tissues" There can be no distinct line of demarcation between health and disease, for the maintenance of a maximum or minimum physiological standard merges imperceptibly into disease and must then be considered abnormal, or pathological. Sexual excitement, like pregnancy in women, may be considered a normal condition in mature life, and excessive frequency or absence denotes abnormality. The natural end and aim of this excitement is copulation in marriage, which, when properly carried out, allays through orgasm the excitement to the perfomance of a fundamental, normal function.

If there be failure of orgasm there will remain, though the excitement may subside, a want of the natural gratification which prompts the excitement; and the sympathetie nervous system, which links the physical with the mental well-being, will not be in a state of complete tranquility but in a condition more or less of unrest. This obtains whether or not the individual understands or is aware of the cause, but now and again a woman may be found whose experience has taught her and who is frank enough to acknowledge that her recurrent state of nervousness is overcome by the production of an orgasm. The number of "high strung" women, whose nervous systems are vulnerable and irritable, is apparently on the increase, and when we come to look for the causes which bring about this condition in our women, if we would be thorough and scientific, we must not ignore the great influence of the sexual function, nor fail to consider their sexual relations and habits.

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CHILDREN WHO HATE VEGETABLES

HOW TO DEAL WITH THEM

Very often children show a marked distaste for vegetables, but as these are absolutely essential for a balanced diet, they must of course be included in their rations. Apart from the good value, vegetables contain the body regulators, vitamins and mineral salts, and cellulose, that insoluble part which helps eliminate the waste matter from the body. Child specialists agree that the implanting of tastes, tendencies and habits in children from birth to eight years of age has an immense importance in their subsequent development. Character and capacity are really formed in those early years. Food preferences, no less than mental and moral qualities, are then created. The diet of a child is vastly more important than that of an adult, for it is in childhood that the foundations of health are laid. Often ill-health in an adult can be traced directly to some definite lack or excess in diet during childhood.

Having made up one's mind that it is essential for a child to have vegetables, how does one manage to get him to eat them without any fuss? Not by telling him they are good for him—that won't interest him, it may even annoy; after all, it is not his business, it is yours. You are his guide for a certain number of years. He trusts you—it is up to you to guide him aright, and help him, form tastes and habits that will help, and not hinder him in future years.

REGULAR MEALS

Meal times should be pleasant times. Food must not only taste appetising, but appeal to the senses of smell and sight, thus helping to stimulate the gastric juices and aid digestion. Meals must be regular, and no pieces allowed between, so that the child may come to the table feeling hungry enough to enjoy his food.

A child naturally dislikes strong flavours, and it takes some time for him to acquire a taste for onions, broad beans and root vegetables that have a strong flavour, but there are so many milder flavoured vegetables, and French beans, peas, celery, cauliflower, carrots, red beet, etc., are usually well liked if introduced very gradually into the diet. While the child is getting accustomed to a new vegetable, one teaspoonful is quite enough to give him. Giving larger amounts too soon only "puts him off," and leads to a fuss. If he is expected to eat only a teaspoonful he seldom makes a fuss, and as time goes on he regards vegetables as an inevitable part of dinner, provided everyone else does the same, and there is no talk of likes and dislikes at table, and no one talks of his poor appetite, etc. and mother makes it a rule that vegetables must be eaten or there is no pudding. With teatime a long way off, and no prospect at all of "pieces" between meals, even the tiny ones think well before leaving their dinner. If the child is a bit "off colour," it won't do him any harm to give his digestion a rest, so if he sometimes chooses to leave his dinner, don't worry in the least. In fact, the more you worry the more likely he is to leave it! Give him petting and attention in other ways and be matter-of-fact about meals.

WHY THEY WON'T EAT?

There are many reasons why children can't or won't eat well at meal times, however well cooked and attractively served the food may be. The following are some of the reasons :—

(1) Irregular bowel habits. No child has a good appetite while its system is clogged with waste matter.

(2) Irregular meal times, and "pieces" between meals. No child will do justice to a good square meal if it is allowed to eat between meals.

(3) Desire to be noticed. Refusing food makes him the centre of attraction with worried parents.

(4) Wrong suggestions from grown ups, such as talking about likes and dislikes or the child's poor appetite.

(5) Bad health habits, lack of exercise, of deep breathing exercises. Adenoids may be a cause.

(6) Lack of fresh air and sunshine, rest and sleep.

(7) Too much excitement.

(8) Offering too much food, or unsuitable food.

Use the opportunity of getting them to like lettuce, tomato and raw finely scraped carrot, by giving them saidwiches for tea. Grow a greater variety of vegetables, children get tired of having the same kind of vegetable too often and each vegetable is rich in some particular thing. For instance, cabbage and carrot are rich in vitamins; beans and peas in vegetable protein; lettuce, tomato and red beet in iodine; parsley and spinach in iron—and so on.

It is most interesting to anyone who has to cook for a family to have a book on food values, so that one has an idea as to whether the family is having a balanced ration or not, and if full value is received for money expended on food.

Don't forget that the valuable salts are often found in or near the outer coat of vegetable, especially potatoes and other root vegetable. There is a lot of truth in: "Isn't it a sin to peel the potato and throw away the skin?" —(Times of India.)

"A gentleman is what a man won't be, and man is what a gentleman can't be."

* * * *

"Love as many women as you like, but only tell one."

A full day's fog is estimated to cost London more than £1,000,000.

CHINGLEPUT UNDER REDDI RAJ

YET ANOTHER VICTIMISATION IN THE NAME OF RETRENCHMENT

PANCHAYAT OFFICER'S POST ABOLISHED AND RE-CREATED

BY "SEARCHLIGHT"

The readers of "The Sunday Observer" are not strangers to the methods and means employed by Diwan Bahadur M. K. Reddy in administering Chingleput District Board affairs. His administration has been stinking in the nostrils of every decent and honest gentleman. Petitions after petitions have been submitted to Government for righting the wrongs that have been perpetrated on individuals who had the misfortune of serving in the District Board of Chingleput. We wish to give an instance which would clearly demonstrate the fact that Mr. Reddy was not and is not considering the administration of the District Board as a trust placed in his hands which should be guarded against evil influences and protected from demoralisation. Instead of his resisting any influence, evil or otherwise, that might bring the administration into contempt, he himself has demoralised it to such an extent that it is not at all possible to set it right by anybody at present. Readers of "The Sunday Observer" will be astonished when they are told that Mr. Reddy has abolished the post of the Panchayat Officer of the Chingleput District Board and along with him the District Panchayat office which consisted of 2 Supervisors and 2 clerks who have put in nearly 3 years' service, under the plea of retrenchment only six months ago and the Board approved of his action. Strangely Mr. Reddy thinks that the finances of the Board are now sound which would enable him to appoint a Panchayat Officer again. He has appointed one in March last, not the previous Panchayat Officer whom he has sent out, but a new gentleman through whom he may achieve some of his objects. The new incumbent, we are told, is a close relation of a very influential gentleman of the Medical Department. We would in this connection ask Government how they can tolerate this kind of highhandedness on the part of Mr. Reddy. This is not an isolated instance, there are thousand and one instances which will clearly show that Mr. Reddy has proved himself to be an incorrigible and inveterate opponent of fairness and justice. He has brought the administration by his various acts into contempt. He has grossly abused the powers vested in him as President to achieve his personal ends and on more than one occasion he has wilfully refused to carry out the provisions of the Local Boards Act. Section 43 of the Local Boards Act runs as follows:—

"43 (1). The Local Government may, by notification, remove any president or vice-president of a local board who, in their opinion, wilfully omits or refuse to carry out or disobeys the provisions of this Act or any rules, bylaws, regulations or lawful orders issued thereunder or abuses the powers vested in him."

We await the action of the Government in regard to Chingleput District Board affairs. By removing Mr. Reddy from the presidentship or superceding the Board the Government will not be accused of a retrograde policy. On the other hand the public will feel eternally grateful to the Government for saving the District Board of Chingleput from corruption, and placing it on a par with the best administered Boards

KISTNA DISTRICT BOARD ELECTIONS

SENSELESS CRITICISM OF MINISTRY

COWARDLY ATTACKS ON GOVERNMENT OFFICERS

(BY "EMDEN BULLET")

I was surprised to see my old friend, Mr. Gudavalli Ramabrahmam, posing as a great critic of Ministerial actions in the columns of the Patter's Road Prattler—I mean "The Sunday Chronicle." Mr. Ramabrahmam, it is a matter for wonder, has transferred his sphere of activity from Telugu journalism to English journalism. He was for sometime engaged in tracing the origin of Kammas right to the very beginning, and I am told that the Kamma Maha Jana Sangam was paying something for the ancestral research in the Connemara Library. If I had known this previously, I would have spared both the money and the trouble—Mr. Gudavalli is such a solid and substantial person belonging to the Pickwickian variety of rotundity that laborious research will bring profuse perspiration. I would have told him and them that the Kammas have descended from the anthropoid apes of Darwinian discovery, whom some of them at any rate resemble even to this day. From Connemara Library to the "Samadarsini" office was a short step, though it might be physically a long distance. In the 'Samadarasini" office, Mr. Ramabrahmam was one of the few friends who, by the weight of his person and scholarship, compelled my regard. I never dreamed that the ex-Editor of the Telugu organ could write such English as that perpetrated in the "Chronicle" of last week. Whether it is only a dream or a reality the "Chronicle" composing staff alone can testify.

However, I do not think it necessary further to go into the authorship of the article in question. The one safe rule is always to believe that the name of the writer published in the "Chronicle" is not the same as that of the scribe who drafts the article—unless of course proved otherwise by reliable and nonlieable evidence. Generally, they use the names of persons without their consent, previous or subsequent. One day they published an article purported to be from the pen of Mr. G. Srihari Rao, B.A., B.L. That gentleman has written a letter to the. "Sunday Observer" disclaiming the authorship. The letter was not published in the "Chronicle" for obvious reasons. There are many stories like that. But I am digressing.

The main grievance levelled against the Hon. The Rajah of Bobbili is that he has strengthened his position. Is this a crime? As though party leaders who assume the reins of power should first undermine their own strength!—a fitting test of judgment in politics! But Mr. Ramabrahmam says that this has been done against public interests. There, that is a legitimate criticism which should be replied to. The critic, however, resembles Lord Brahma in this respect. He creates things out of nothing, and on the basis of this aims Ramabhanam on the Ministry. It is evidently for this that the prophetic name-givers christened him "Ramabrahmam."

If any man, with some impartiality, some discernment and a wee bit of commonsense, judges the action of the Ministry with regard to Kistna District Board elections, he will find that nothing has been done against public interests. Of course, if "public interests" mean the interests of Adusumallis Gudavallis Challapallis and their ilk, then the Ministry stands condemned for having worked against the interests of the public!

One serious charge that has been levelled against the Election Officer is that he lent himself to the "wirepullings' of the Zamindar of Mirzapuram. In this "pulling" business, I think Adusumalli's party hold the the championship record in Andhra Desa, and it is their "wirepullings" in the cause of injustice that have been resisted. It is well-known that Mr. Adusumalli Gopalakrishnayya wanted to bring in his men as voters in certain places. He brought in people who were living in or near Gudivada, gave them 25 cents in Rangapuram—a village 70 miles away—and issued pattas, so that they may be enrolled as voters in that firka. Naturally, the Election Officer cannot be a party to such underhand tactics, and his action in allowing the appeal against such objectionable practice. Further, it may be stated that the Election Officer has also removed some voters belonging to the opposite party, when an objection is raised. This shows clearly his impartiality and his high sense of duty. I think it is mean, cowardly and disgraceful to attack Government officers who have no opportunity of coming out with rejoinders to press articles. But who can blame the "Chronicle" and the name-lenders to its articles for these tactics? For, without such dirty tactics, the Adusumalli variety, and the Gudavalli type, cannot get on, and the "Chronicle" will be more dull and far more insipid. I can only conclude by saying: Cowardice and villainy, thy name is "Sunday Chronicle." Scapegoat! thy name is Ramabrahmam!

BUSINESSMEN IN CONFERENCE

COMMERCE FEDERATION MEETS AT NEW DELHI

SCATHING CRITICISMS OF GOVERNMENT'S POLICY

(Associated Press)

New Delhi, April, 15

The sixth annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce commenced here this morning before a large and representative gathering, included in which were Messrs G. D. Birla Khaitan N. R. Sarkar Lala Shri Ram and Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas.

Mr. Walchand Hirachand moved that the dual policy of the Government had failed and, in the interests of peace, goodwill and prosperity, it was essential that Mr. Gandhi and other political prisoners should be released forthwith.

After some discussion, it was decided to defer consideration of the resolution.

Resolutions on gold and currency were moved together the text of which is as follows: (1) *Resolution on gold*: This Moderation views with alarm the continued outflows of gold from India valued at over 120 crores of rupees since September 1931 and regrets the policy in action on the part of the Government of India inspite of strong protests by the Indian mercantile community. In view of huge loss of immense potential strength which gold resources of India might have supplied to future Reserve Bank. This Federation reaffirms necessity for steps being taken forthwith by Government to put embargo on export of gold and buy gold in India for the purpose of strengthening currency reserve at rates equivalent to sterling rates gold in London.

(2) *Resolution on currency*: This Federation protests against government policy in keeping the rupee linked to sterling and urges that rupee be allowed to find its own level."

Mr. Naliniranjan Sarkar proposing the resolution on gold strongly recommended the imposition of immediate embargo upon the export of gold still leaving India. Such embargo he thought was now imperative.

Sir Chunilal Mehta supporting the resolution regretted the difference of opinion between the Government of India and well informed people in the country. It was unfortunate that gold and exchange policy of the government was not in the interest of the country. He bitterly criticised Sir George Schuster's policy in the matter of gold export and repudiated his argument that Government of India cannot afford to buy all gold offered for sale.

Mr. S. S. Gagla thought that gold embargo was very much overdue.

Mr. Shroff said that attitude taken up by the Federation towards linking the rupee to sterling had came to be correct. Indian trade, he said, had not responded to it which could be seen from the fact that Indian exports had considerdbly fallen since last year. Sir George Schuster refused to place embargo on gold, as it did not tally with his political philosophy.

The resolution was carried unanimously. The Federation resolved regretting that government should continue policy of silver sales despite public protests, and expressed the opinion that since the recommendations of the Hilton Young Report are not now operative, the Government should stop further sales of silver.

Sir Purshotamdas moved resolution protesting in view of the present critical economic situation in the country against the Government of India's decision for partially restoring cut in salaries of government servants without first giving any relief to the taxpayer.

Mr. B. Das supported the resolution and urged those attending the Joint Committee in London to press for reduction of salaries of Government services and reduction of military expenditure.

The resolution was carried.

A WALK-OUT

When the House was about to proceed to elect Committee Members Mr. A. D. Shroff raised point of order that unless report of the working of past year was given showing the work the Committee had done it would be unfair to invite the House to elect a fresh Committee as they might be voting down the members who might have done good work.

After a breezy discussion, President ruled that they could give timely notice for change of procedure only next year. Thereupon ballot papers were distributed and Mr. Shroff Mr. Bagaria, Mr. C. S. Rangaswami and 12 others walked out with a view not to participate till election was over.

Seth Kasturibhai Lalbhai moved "The Federation expresses its deep dissatisfaction with the entire incometax policy of the Government of India and urges upon them to give effect as early as possible to the following demads of the mercantile community namely (a) Abolish altogether surcharge now levied on income-tax and supertax (b) To lower substantially the present high

(Continued on page 8)

NOTICE

All contributions and articles should be addressed to the Editor, the "Sunday Observer."

Contributions should be written only on one side of the paper. Those who desire the return of their articles in case of non-publication should send a stamped and addressed envelope.

All communications addressed to the Editor should bear the name and address of the writer for authentication.

Contributors are requested to be brief and to the point, owing to the limitation of space.

All cash remittances may kindly be made to the address of the manager.

EDITOR

NOTICE

Several applications are being made by gentlemen in several districts for the supply of the "Sunday Observer" without mentioning their addresses. They are therefore requested to furnish their names and addresses clearly and legibly written.

MANAGER

THE SUNDAY OBSERVER

Stand upright; speak thy thought; declare
The truth thou hast that all may share;
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere;
They only live who dare.

SUNDAY, APRIL 16, 1933.

"LIBERALISE THE WHITE PAPER"

INDIAN LIBERALS WHO MET IN Calcutta yesterday want to "liberalise" the White Paper: they want that its stingy proposals should be replaced by more advanced and progressive ones. Mr. J. N. Basu, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Liberal Federation Conference, said in his speech that the White Paper was "punctuated with hesitation and mistrust." Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao who presided over the session, has subjected the White Paper to close scrutiny and reasoned criticism. He has echoed the intense dissatisfaction in the country against the Government's proposals, and emphasised that the pledges pompously announced and patronisingly reiterated have not been honoured in the observance. Mr. Ramachandra Rao said, "The point for our consideration is whether the proposals now made in the White Paper have carried out solemn pledges and whether the scheme adumbrated therein lays the foundation necessary for raising India to the status of a self-governing Dominion. The answer to this question can only be in the negative. The only way in which these pledges can be carried out is to give us a constitutional charter which, while recognising the status of India as equal to the other self governing Dominions, would provide us with the structure of a constitution which would finally establish the same form of Government as prevails in the self-governing Dominions, without a periodical examination by Parliament of the Indian problem." Nowhere in the White Paper scheme, he adds, is there any attempt made by His Majesty's Government to set up India as a self-governing Dominion from now, or to lead to it in the near future, with a period of transition during which certain powers will be reserved in the hands of His Majesty's Government. On the important question of safeguards, he has pointed out that the special powers of the Governor or the Governor-General are "so vague and elastic as to embrace practically the whole sphere of legislation and administration in respect of the subjects placed in charge of the Ministers." The Diwan Bahadur goes on to say that "some of the discretionary powers proposed to be conferred on the Governor-General and Governors are also much beyond the existing powers of the Governor-General to shape the legislative proposal of the Ministers and also to frame rules of business"and that these rules "will reduce the Ministers and the Federal Legislature to the position of mere automatons." If the Governors and Governor-General are to become greater autocrats than at present and possess larger over-riding powers than they have now, where, then, is the extent of political advance as envisaged by His Majesty's Government in the White Paper? The White Paper is a mere eye-wash, and it does not even pretend to conciliate the Indian point of view. The task of the Indian delegation to the Joint Parliamentary Committee is therefore all the greater. They can do it no better than by tearing the White Paper to pieces in London, and helping in re-drafting the Round Table scheme in the interests of India, first, next, and always.

WELCOME TO MR. CHETTY

THE HON. R. K. SHANMUGHAM Chetty, the Speaker of India's Parliament, is coming to-night to Madras for the first time after his election to that exalted office. Madras welcomes him with open arms and open heart. She is overjoyed at the glory that Mr. Chetty has brought to the province. The "benighted presidency" has got such shining lustre of greatness that it can dispel the gloom of other provinces. Intellect of a high order, talents of a rare type, ability and confidence that is the privilege and pride of youth, are qualities which Mr. Chetty possesses in abundance, and, to spare. The silver tone of a Sastri, the sweetness of a Sarojini, the assertiveness of a Surendranath, the oratorical powers of a Beasant, the simple and chaste style of a Gandhi, the powers of persuasion and reasoning of a Ramaswami Mudaliar and the polish, dignity and bearing characteristic of none except himself—these entitle Mr. Chetty to the front-rank of speakers not only of India but of the whole world. Madras felt proud of him as a speaker, and she now feels proud of him as the Speaker. We extend to him a hearty welcome to the city after his donning the grey wig, and hope that if there is any interval, when he is not attending dinners and tea parties, which seems hardly likely, he may give some more exercise to his tongue than is permitted in the Assembly.

INDIAN GOVERNOR OF U. P.

SIR SAPRU TO GIVE A GARDEN PARTY

(Associated Press)

Allahabad April 15:

His Excellency the Nawab of Chhatari arrives in Allahabad tomorrow for a short stay. His excellency will be presented with an address of welcome by the municipal board.

On Tuesday the 18th instant Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is giving a Garden Party to meet the Governor.

PITY THE POOR POSTMAN!

MR. DAS'S ADDRESS AT BENARES CONFERENCE

(Associated Press)

Benares, April, 15.

The Tenth All India Postmen and Lower Grade Staff Conference commenced sitting at Benares this evening. Rai Sahib S. P. Sanyal Chairman read messages from H. E. the Governor of the United provinces and others, and delivered the welcome address.

Mr. C. Das, M. L. A., President, dealing with the grievances of postmen, held that there was no justification for having any cuts in salaries of postmen. He pointed out that there was no cut in the Police and the Army, and felt it was unjust that, out of all services, the Postal Department and that of the Railway should be subjected to this sort of cut. He thought that retrenchment could possibly be effected in other ways. Moreover, high salaries could be more suitably reduced than by cutting a few rupees out of the small pay of poor employees.

GANDHIJI MEETS LAXMI

AFFECTIONATE RECEPTION AFTER MARRIAGE

(Associated Press)

Poona, Apr. 15.

Mr. Gandhi had the pleasure of meeting Laxmi his adopted Harijan daughter in company with her husband Mr. Marathidas Sharma this afternoon for the first time after their marriage recently at Sabarmati Ashram. The couple who had been betrothed since two years had affectionate reception at Mr. Gandhi's hands.

M. Gandhi appeared profoundly impressed by their marriage and had many good words for Mr. Marathi who, he felt sure, will prove a real guide helper and protector to her.

WOMAN-FLIER MEETS WITH MISHAP

MISS BATTEN IN KARACHI

(Associated Press)

Karachi, April, 15.

Miss Batten has not returned till 11-15 p.m. from the scene of mishap. No news is available here, but it is presumed that she must have reached Lasbella too late in the evening to enable her to proceed to the scene of mishap and fly back to Karachi.

It is hoped that she will proceed to the scene from Lasbella a distance of 28 miles early to-morrow morning change the propeller and fly to Karachi before noon.

RETRENCHMENT IN B. N. RAILWAY

MR. V. V. GIRI ADDRESSES PROTEST MEETINGS

(Associated Press.)

Madras, Apr. 15.

The Secretary of the Labour Union, Chakradarpur, wires under date April 15 as follows:—

Mr. V. V. Giri, President of the B. N. Railway Indian Labour Union addressed large gatherings of Railway men at Kharagpur Adra, Purulia and Chakradarpur from 12th instant, at which workers protested against the impending retrenchment at Kharagpur and appealed to the Agent to cancel the same.

Mr. Giri meets the Agent about the 19th instant. The Central Council of the Union meets at Kharagpur on Sunday the 23rd instant to discuss the situation caused.

TALK OF THE TOWN

BY "NEWSMONGER"

The cry of the public to reform the administration of Tirumalai-Tirupathi Devasthanams is a cry in the wilderness. The public have been waiting anxiously to see that the Tirumalai-Tirupathi Devasthanams Bill which was passed unanimously twice by the Local Legislative Council, placed on the Statute-Book. But it is still hanging in the air. There is no doubt the future historian will give a place of first rate importance in the modern provincial legislation to the Tirumalai-Tirupathy Bill which confers everlasting benefit upon the devotees of Lord Sree Venkatesa. The Bill tackles with the problem of management of the Tirupathi Devasthanam. Barest justice demands that the present system of administration of the Devasthanam properties by a usurper should give place to a better and equitable administration. Few people will quarrel with me when I say that the administration of the Mahant is neither fair nor just. He has used or rather shall I say—misused the funds of the Devasthanam of which he happens to be the Vicharanakartha for his own selfish purposes. I do not feel there is any necessity to go into details of the Mahant's getting into the place of Vicharanakartha as that question has been discussed threadbare by those who have agitated for reformation in the administration of this Devasthanam.

* * * *

Even the Mahant, I am told, is feeling that his days of autocratic rule are numbered and that sooner or later he will have to lay down his sceptre and hand over to others the millions that he has till now been using in a manner that has disgusted even the most orthodox Hindus who do not generally like interference by the State in religious affairs.

* * * *

Two of my friends who move in high circles were discussing in the corridors of the Cosmopolitan Club the methods employed by the Mahant in thwarting and preventing the Bill becoming the law of the land. I heard one of them say "No wonder at all that the Mahant should be spending tons of money to safeguard his interest. He seems to have paid 20,000 to so and so and he is prepared to spend any amount and this is a good season for any enterprising politician in Madras to make as much money as possible. His cause will be a golden cause which can be supported and upheld for weightier considerations." Although this is a jocular remark, there is much truth, I hear, in that remark. His Excellency who is noted for impartiality and who has studied all aspects of the question will, at least now, give his assent to the Bill that has been passed by the Legislative Council with the necessary modifications suggested by him.

* * * *

One important topic of the day is the arrival of the Hon'ble Mr. Shanmugam, President of the Indian Legislative Assembly to-day. Various associations and public bodies have decided to give him a right royal reception at the Central Station and the S.I.L.F. of Madras has decided to take him in procession from the Central Station via Chintadripet to Sir Theyagaraya Memorial Buildings. The Corporation will present him with an address of welcome. The Mayor will receive the Speaker of the Indian Legislative Assembly with Mayoral robe. The Corporation has sanctioned the expenses for the Mayoral robes and there was much heated discussion not over the question of sanctioning the Mayoral robe as over the question of the Mayor's allegiance to a party. There can be no connection between

(Continued on page 7)

COUNCIL OF STATE

ELDERS DISPERSE AFTER STRENUOUS SESSION

PARTY SYSTEM AND PARTY VOTING MUCH IN EVIDENCE

HAJ, INCOME-TAX AND ANTI DUMPING BILLS PASSED

(Associated Press)

New Delhi, April. 15.

In the Council of State to-day Syed Muhamed Padshah expressed gratefulness to Sir Fazli Hussain for having so promptly attended to the recommendations of the Committee. He urged that the rules should be so framed as to better the sanitary conditions on board the ship and see that food was unobjectionable from the point of view of orthodox Muslims.

Mr. Hasan Imam said that no doubt the measure would confer some benefits, but the hopes entertained regarding changes had not sufficiently materialised.

Chaudhuri Muhamed Din said that the measure sponsored by statesman like Sir Fazli Hussain and Muslim leaders like Sir Abdur Rahim, Shafee Daudi and Syed Murtuza was a guarantee that it was in the best interest of the Muslims. He wanted food to be cooked under supervision of an orthodox Muhamedan.

Sir R.N. Chokesy gave experiences of Haj pilgrims' conditions and emphasised the need for sanitary conditions.

Sir Fazli Hussain gratefully acknowledged the constructive suggestions and assured the House that full attention would be paid to them. He added that fares were already reduced, but efforts would be made to secure further reduction.

The Haj Bill was then passed, as passed by the Assembly.

SIR M. D. DEVADOSS ASKS A PERTINENT QUESTION

Mr. Taylor, Finance Secretary, moved for consideration of the Incometax Foreign Investments Bill which, he said, was intended to cover a loophole in the incometax legislation.

Messrs. Prasad, J. C. Banerjee and Sir Devadas supported the bill. The last named asked why pensions paid from Indian revenue to people living in England were not taxed and forty lakhs revenue was being sacrificed.

Mr. Husain Imam asked whether investments abroad were subject to foreign incometax.

Mr. Taylor answered that moneys invested in companies in Britain were subject to incometax. But what escaped the tax now was investments in funding loans and other securities.

Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan wanted to know the amount likely to accrue to Government by the passage of the Bill.

Mr. Taylor said that, at present, it was largely a matter of guess work.

The Bill was passed without change, one amendment moved by Mr. Mehrdtra being lost.

DUMPING OF JAPANESE GOODS

Mr. Stewart. Commerce Secretary, moving consideration of the Anti-Dumping Bill said that it was not the last word in the attempt to safeguard Indian industries against serious uneconomic competition from foreign countries. He hoped that the necessity for this emergency legislation would soon pass away, if not, experience would furnish the basis for a more elaborate and more scientific structure in the place of the present one.

Mr. Basu asked the Government not to consider the Bill as a charter to grant protection to every industry suffering from competition, but to refer the matter to the Tariff Board before coming to the Legislature for confirmation of executive action. He urged the Government to keep always the interests of the consumers in view.

Mr. Muhamad Suhrawardy said that the Bill marked a new departure in the industrial history of India and warned against exploitation of the consumer.

Lala Ramsarandas felt that not only was the measure too delayed, but if action was held up for another six months terrible damage would be done to the industries of India. He said that immediate denunciation of the convention without waiting for six months was justified in the case of countries which imposed additional duties or granted bounties; and informed the House that Japan was already giving forward contracts without imposing conditions regarding possible increase in duty. This menace could be stopped by immediate action only.

Mr. K. C. Banerjee held that the legislation was long overdue.

Mr. Banerjee wanted the Government to check profiteering by wholesale and retail dealers under cover of this Bill during the next few weeks.

Messrs. Hussain Imam and Mehrotra also extended support, the latter emphasising the need for protection not only from Japan but from all countries which attempted to dump goods. He referred to the rumour that the Japanese were contemplating starting mills and factories in India in order to get over the difficulty caused to them by the Bill.

The Bill was passed without change.

Finally, the Tariff Act Amendment Bill was passed without discussion.

NON-OFFICIAL PRESIDENT A SUCCESS

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, President, before adjourning the House 'sine die,' expressed thanks to the Leader of the House and all Non-Official sections for the support and co-operation extended to him during the session and wished the Members a pleasant holiday (cheers).

Members dispersed after warm shaking of hands of each other at the conclusion of the session, which had been noteworthy for the large number of non-official sittings, and party system and party voting being more in evidence than in any previous sessions ever since the Council was created, the voting strengths of non-official groups occasionallly being in the neighbourhood of votes recorded by Government and the experiment of a non-official President being generally acknowledged success, Sir Maneckji himself contributed to it by able dignified and the impartial way in which he conducted the deliberations.

(Continued from page 6)

Mayoral robe and the party allegiance of the Mayor. This question was unnecessarily imported into the discussion despite the Mayor's repeated assurances that he would not be guided or influenced by party considerations in the conduct of meetings and administration of the Corporation. Some of them wanted that he should tender his resignation of his party membership. This seems absurd. What we have to see is that the Mayor conducts himself in an impartial manner and not whether he belongs to party or not.

H. E. THE VICEROY

TO VISIT GWALIOR

(Associated Press)

Allahabad April, 15.

A Gwalior Message says that His Excellency the Viceroy and Countess of Willingdon arrive at Gwalior on the 17th instant on a private visit to the Maharaja Scindia and leave Gwalior on the 21st April.

LIBERALS BOMBARD WHITE PAPER

"PUNCTUATED WITH HESITATION AND MISTRUST"

PLAIN-SPEAKING AT CALCUTTA CONFERENCE

(Associated Press)

Calcutta, April 15.

The Fourteenth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India met to day at Calcutta under the Presidency of Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.

Mr. J. N. Basu, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the course of his speech welcoming the delegates, characterised the White Paper as profusely punctuated with hesitation and mistrust. It had not so far struck the chord of mutual trust or goodwill in the minds of the people in this country.

"We belong to a cautious and patient political group. We resist being borne down by passing phases or impulses. But as years roll by, we have noticed with concern the growth in India of distrust and discontent. It was for Britain which had a controlling voice to make an unmistakable gesture of generosity. The Communal Award and White Paper are hardly such gestures"

He concluded, "I only trust that lessons of history and true appreciation of forces that move humanity will not be lost sight of and that, in ultimately shaping the constitution, such form and life would be given to it that it can function as a self-Governing unit developing its own individuality united to Great Britain by bonds of amity and common interests."

MR. SASTRI'S SPEAKS

Proposing Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao to the Chair, the Rt. Hon V. S. Srinivasa Sastri said: "Would you believe me, our political fortunes are now at such a low ebb that, if I could, I really would withdraw the national demand for a while, and beg our leaders not to press it forward upon this occasion. For we seem to be coming up against a dead wall, and the result might be somewhat worse than we looked for But I don't offer you that counsel of despair. The only reason that I have is not that it would not be wise if it were possible, but that it is impossible. We cannot stop the political machine from moving at our bidding. A great deal of momentum has been gathered not that we are in charge of the machine-not one party or community. (out?) Britishers, Hindus, Mahomedans interests of all kinds and this country of India has been called a country of minorities and of interests. It is these that have got hold of the machine, and it is bound to operate. And our business is to see that we take a hand in it if possible, and that if we cannot improve, we should at least see that we don't go back. It is not time therefore that we can afford merely to stand by and let things pass. If we have wisdom, if we have experience, if we have moderation, if we have power of persuasion and quiet influence, real efficiency, if we have these virtues this is the time to display them in the fullest strength. I therefore am deliberately of opinion that they are wrong who would say "let us leave things to themselves."

A message was read from Sir Chimanlal Setalvad who suggested sending a deputation to England to effect improvement in constitutional proposals.

Those present included Mr. C. Y. Chintamani Pandit, Hirdyanath Kunzru, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. Thakur Hanuman Singh, Mr. D. G. Dalvi, Lord Sinha, Mr. W. H. Thompson, Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, Sir D. P. Sarvadhikari, Mrs. Kumudini Bose and Miss Jyotirmoy Ganguli.

VIOLENT STORM

HEAVY DAMAGE IN RANAGHAT

(Associated Press)

Ranaghat, Ap. 15.

A violent storm passed over Ranaghat on Thursday afternoon uprooting trees damaging many big buildings and blowing thatched corrugated iron sheds and numerous houses. Telegraph posts were blown off, wires were torn and railway lines were blocked, resulting in up and down trains arriving late and the Railway Station remaining in darkness during the night. No loss of human life is reported, but numerous cattle and birds perished. Several persons were injured in adjacent villages as a result of house collapses and are now progressing in Hospital.

At Raghabpur, all houses were blown while at Ashtolla and Hadidpur casualties are reported to be heavy. The Storm Lasted forty five minutes.

PATNA CONGRESS OFFICE RAIDED

LADY'S SATYAGRAHA UNDER BANYAN TREE

(Associated Press)

Patna, Apr. 14.

In view of the repeated distribution of unauthorised leaflets and recrudescence of Congress activities the Local Congress office which has been declared unlawful was searched and taken possession of by the Police last night. Charushila Devi of Midnapore and others who were inside the office were asked to vacate, whereupon they started Satyagraha under a Banyan tree on the roadside.

JATPROLE CUP TOURNAMENT

BEZWADA TEAM DEFEATS BANGALORE MUSLIMS IN SEMI-FINAL

(From our special sporting correspondent)

Madras, April, 16

Before a very large crowd of football enthusiasts, the semi-final of the Jatprole Cup Football Tournament was played yesterday at the S. I. A. A. grounds. The game was watched with great interest. Though the Bangalore Muslims had many opportunities of scoring, they missed all chances. The Bezwada C. R. Das Team, the present holders of Cup, played a remarkable game. They scored all their three goals in the first half. In the second half, Bangalore Muslims tried their level best but failed to score any goal. They had more than half-a-dozen Corners which they could have converted into goals but they misreably failed. The winning team showed great powers of combination and defence. They will meet the winners of to-day's match between the Young Gems of Masulipatam and the Young Men's Recreation Club, Madras, in the final which will be played to-morrow (Monday 17th inst). It may be stated that the Bewzada team has got greater chances of winning the Cup.

PUTTING IT BLUNTLY

A wealthy tradesman had a daughter on the point of celebrating her twenty-first birthday. He and his wife, therefore, decided to give her a big party. The mother had the invitations printed, "Your presence is requested, etc..."

The father, a strain of Scottish blood in his veins, altered them before they were sent out so that they read; "Your presents are requested. . ."

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN MADRAS

(Continued from page 1)

ment with all the earnestness I am capable of.

When Sir Nicholson summed up his report in the oft-quoted words "Find Raiffeisen," I do not believe that he ever envisaged the springing up of the full-blown Raiffeisen in every village desiring a co-operative society. It would be too extravagant an expectation for any country in the world to fulfill. It is the imbibing of the Raiffeisen spirit that Nicholson could have meant and I believe that it is what Mr. Strathie also means in quoting those words of Sir Nicholson. I hold that it is quite possible to inculcate the Raiffeison spirit in some uncovered areas and to plant new societies therein.

The Future of the Movement-Non-Credit Co-operation.

Mr. Strathie, in envisaging the future of the Movement, said that the credit organisation will be a much smaller thing ten years hence and that non-official workers will be devoting more and more attention to Rural Reconstruction. He is perhaps right in his conjecture about the reduction in the number of rural credit societies and the volume of business in some of the central banks during the next decade. But, I expect more fruitful and more genuine forms of co-operative credit to replace part of the present unproductive credit and that the total volume of co-operative credit will increase instead of diminishing. If warehouse accommodation is improved, loan and sale societies are well organised and the movement and marketing of produce are financed on the lines suggested by the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, there will be scope for the absorption of at least 10 times the volume of co-operative credit which is now distributed through village societies for discharge of prior debts and expenditure on social ceremonies. The resolutions of the last Central Banks' Conference indicated this programme. Again the co-operative handling of small urban and cottage industries on the lines suggested by all the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committees has yet to be attempted. If the Industries and the Co-operative Departments collaborate in organising such industries, their financing will be the legitimate function of the Central and Provincial Banks. All non-credit activities in the ultimate resort require credit for their pursuit. Credit and non-credit are indeed the warp and woof of the Movement. In this larger sense, I envisage the growth of the Co-operative Movement substantially in the next decade. What exactly Mr. Strathie meant by "Rural Reconstruction" is not clear. If he meant by that expression the economic and social reconstruction of rural life through the medium of organisations for the promotion of better living, better farming and better business, it is a welcome suggestion. Will he not include in that expression a scheme of insurance of lives of village folk on the basis of small policies and low premia which the South India Co-operative Insurance Society is doing? Will he not include in it distributive co-operative organisations which will eliminate the middlemen and rescue the consumers from their exploitation? I hope the Movement will grow and expand on these lines into a vast organisation, and India will occupy a high place among the countries where Co-operation has helped to benefit the masses.

PROBLEMS OF THE GUNTUR DISTRICT.

The unions and the Federation.

On a careful study of the working of the Local Supervising Unions in your district, I have found that many of them are not working satisfactorily and that some of them have practically ceased to function. I am confirmed in this view by the following observations of your Deputy Registrar in his latest inspection notes for the half year ending 31-12-1932.

"The Overdues have increased considerably, the percentage of arrears under principal on 31-12-1932 being 84'2 as against 64'2 on 30-6-1932. No sustained efforts have been made after July 1932 to improve collections in societies. The dry crops have already been harvested and marketed in the upland taluks but the supervising staff has not so far taken pains to stir up collections. From the reviews on the working of Local Co-operative Unions in the district for 1931-32 separately communicated to it, the Bank may realise the very bad condition of the Unions in the district and any further undue reliance upon Unions and their staff in the improvement of societies and recovery of arrears may not in all cases be justifiable. The Bank is requested to consider the position seriously and take remedial measures with a view to arrest the increase in arrears and reconstruct societies on sound lines."

The positively bad Unions must therefore be marked out for liquidation as soon as possible and the supervision of societies in such areas must be assumed by the Central Bank without further loss of time. Even in areas where Unions are allowed to remain, the entire supervision fund must be pooled in the Central Bank and the full control over the supervisors must be centralised in the administrative section of the Bank. Your District Federation is a costly luxury and serves no useful purpose at present. The remarks of the Deputy Registrar quoted above are sufficient to show that it had not strengthened the Unions. Its continuance involves avoidable waste of money and unjustifiable duplication of work. I hope this conference will give a definite lead to the co-operators in the district in favour of the immediate liquidation of the Federation and the bad Local Unions and the centralisation of supervision fund and control over the field staff in the Central Bank. The Central Bank will otherwise fail in the duty it owes to the investing public and the societies.

The Central Bank.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the affairs of your Central Bank have been far from satisfactory for the last 3 or 4 years. Its working capital and loan transactions have gone down markedly. The Bank is not serving the Societies' needs. While some of these results are attributable to causes beyond your control and the shrinkage of business is a feature common to most of the Co-operative central banks in the province, your troubles are aggravated, I regret to say, by internal dissensions, which are inimical to all co-operative endeavour. I hope the liquidation of the Federation will end some of these dissensions, for I know the differences between the Bank and the Federation are a source of friction among the leaders of the movement in the district. There is also need to reconstitute the Board of Management and the Executive Committee of your Bank and I have already made to you last year my definite recommendations in that behalf. I wonder whether even all these measures of reform suggested by me will lead to the settlement of the dispute over your headquarters. If they do not end the quarrel of Tenali vs. Guntur, I once more press on the Registrar my suggestion to bifurcate the Bank and give one for the Tenali area and another for the Guntur area. I know the multiplication of small Central Banks is undesirable. I am in entire agreement with Departmental policy in the matter. But when no other solution is possible and the deadlock cannot be otherwise removed, the lesser of the two evils must be accepted.

BUSINESSMEN IN CONFERENCE

(Continued From Page 5)

rates of incometax and supertax. (c) To raise amount of minimum taxable income from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 2000 (d) To amend Incometax Act so as to provide for setoff for losses sustained in any one year against profits for three subsequent years. (e) To provide that appeals from incometax Officers both on points of fact and law should lie to independent tribunal.

The resolution was carried.

RAILWAY POLICE

Mr. C. L. Mehta of Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta moved: The Federation emphatically opposes proposal for parliamentary legislation on Indian Railways as it is not only tantamount to a repudiation of autonamous powers of Indian legislatures but militates against elasticity of machinery which must needs accommodate itself to demands of Indian transportation problems. The Federation therefore is strongly of opinion that in the interests of Indian trade and industry no proposal for statutory railway Board would be acceptable unless constituted by an act of the Indian legislature. The Federation deprecates formulation of proposal for a Statutory Board as suggested in the White Paper in the absence of any adequate consideration or discussion at the sessions of the Round Table Conference and without consulting Indian commercial opinion on the matter.

Mr. Mehta contended that national economic welfare depended on railway policy being directed towards promotion of agricultural trade and commercial interests of India and if Railway authority were to be taken away from legislatures it would lead to disaster (Applause.)

Lt. Sodhbans supported the resolution which was carried unanimously. The House adjourned till to-morrow.

THE WHITE PAPER

The Executive committee met tonight and discussed drafts of resolutions on the White Paper and forthcoming world Economic Conference. It is understood that the White Paper resolution asks the Government to desist from imposing a constitution which has met with universal condemnation in the country and change materially the constitutional scheme outlined in the White Paper.

WIZARD OF THE WIRES

"Almost every man can find work if he uses his brains," asserted the man who had travelled a good deal—'that is, if he has the ability to adapt himself like the piano-tuner I once met in the West of America.

"'Why,' I said to him, for we were in a wild, unsettled country, 'surely piano-tuning can't be very lucrative here? I shouldn't imagine that pianos were very plentiful in this region.'

"'No, they're not,' said the piano-tuner, 'but I make a pretty fair income by tightening up barbed wire fences?'"

Audit

The Government have at last made up their mind about audit of Central and Urban Banks. I cannot congratulate the Government on their decision to prevent the formation of a Provincial or regional audit unions and to discourage audit of co-operative banks by qualified and certified non departmental auditors. I do not wish to say more on the subject at present. I hope that your Bank will not allow the question to rest there, and that the demand for non-official audit will become more and more pronounced in future and will eventually be conceded. In the meantime I hope the Government will moderate their demand of audit fees and will bring down their present scale by at least 50 per cent.

In conclusion, I make an earnest appeal to the co-operators of Guntur to close up their ranks and to concentrate their efforts to strengthen the movement in the district. The best way to do it is to rise above every tendency that makes for disunion and to cultivate every virtue that promotes union.

A TRUE GURU

(BY ONE WHO FOUND HIM)

Is there God? For this query I had been rebuffed Kashi, Prayag, Muttra, Hardwar, and other holy places. I saw Mahants. I met Religious Heads with long beards and saffron coloured clothes. I wandered with Sadhus in the Kullu Valley, in the Himalayas. I cried for light. But it was a cry in the wilderness.

But the desire to know truth led me on to another path. I became interested in palmistry. My father had told me of a Tibetan Lama, who had read his life from his palms, while he was in Tibet. The reading had come wonderfully true. I began studying the available literature, and came to know that these ancient sciences had originated from India. It is a sad commentary that the fountains of knowledge have gone dry. I travelled from place to place in search of manuscripts or men who could throw light on the subject. But it was of no avail. Their knowledge was too scanty to be of any use. Then I came to know of a Guru who had spent a life time in unravelling the ancient lore.

FACE TO FACE WITH GURU

I decided to go to him. The family members were against the idea. I was studying in the third class. Friends laughed. I too lost faith. The opposition was overwhelming. But there was a silver lining. My father encouraged me. He said that higher education without learning some handicraft or art is useless. He impressed upon my mind that the present system of higher education makes its recipients helpless tools. He showed me the dignity of labour. I made up my mind. The wonder-lust had come. I left home and reached the heart of Rajputana.

My previous experience had taught me to expect a fat man with a turban, a sofa, and other paraphernalia of the priest class. But imagine my surprise to find a lean, old man, with bright eyes, sitting under the shade of Peepul tree. There were people around him. They were singing songs in praise of Lord Krishna.

There was peace. I began to feel at home. I repeated my old out-worn query. Is there God? There was silence. The audience was thunder-struck. The old man raised his brow. Our eyes met. He rose and embraced me. There were tears in his eyes. It was as if we had met after ages. Now the audience was surprised in its turn. They wondered how a non-believer was welcomed. They had not to wait. The old man explained: 'you talk of God to please me. He has come to seek Truth.'

I realised for the first time that a true Guru is one in whose presence you feel one with him. There is no awe. There is no fear. There is Love. I had found Light.—(Roy's Weekly.)

SAFETY FIRST

The second act had come to an end and the curtain had fallen. Suddenly those near the stage became conscious of a stir and hurrying behind the scenes. A faint smell began to pervade the atmosphere; smoke came from the wings.

In an instant the same thought struck everyone, and the same word left every lip: "Fire!"

A stampede seemed imminent. Then the hero of the hour rose from his seat in the stalls.

"Keep your seat," he shouted.

His words and manner reassured the terror-stricken people in the theatre. Shamefacedly, they sank back one by one into their seats.

Slowly, as if about to speak, the man strode to where there was now an open avenue of exit. Then, without a moment's hesitation, he rushed for the door.

Once outside, he mopped his forehead, and murmured, breathlessly, "Well, someone's saved, anyway."

• • •

CAUGHT

A man bought a packet of cigarettes from Mr. Isaacstein, his regular tobacconist.

"Isaac," said the customer, after the purchase had been completed, "you gave me a bad shilling in my change the other night."

"Impossible," answered Isaac, "I never took or gave a bad coin in my life. With my forty years' experience in handling money, I can tell by the touch; physical instinct, my friend. I suppose you managed to get rid of it?"

"Yes," was the reply. "I've just given it to you for these cigarettes."

IT'S GOOD TO BE ENGLISH TO-DAY

By A. G. Gardiner

Gilbert's hero who "might have been a Roosian or who might have been a Proosian," but who

"In spite of all temptations
To belong to other nations
Remained an Englishman,"

knew what he was about. He knew, as the slang phrase goes, when he was "on a good thing." It was a wise choice fifty years ago, when Gilbert wrote. It is an even better choice to-day.

And this, not merely because, in spite of all our distresses, this country is standing up to the economic blizzard that is raging over the earth as well as any and far, far better than most. That is something to be grateful for.

Nor is it a matter for selfish gratitude only. If we can keep our feet and our poise until the blizzard has blown itself out, we shall be doing good service to the world as well as to ourselves. While there is a pillar standing there is something for the others to cling to, and a focus around which economic reconstruction may begin.

HARD-WON FREEDOM

But there is a still better reason—not unconnected with the other—why it is a satisfaction to-day to be a citizen of this country.

If there is one thing more necessary to make life endurable than the assurance of three square meals a day, it is the enjoyment of reasonable liberty—the liberty to think as we like, read what we like, speak as we feel, vote as we choose, and, within reason, do as we please.

This freedom we enjoy. It is so much a part of our existence that we never give it a thought. It is so familiar that it seems to belong to the nature of things.

But it does not belong to the nature of things. It was won by centuries of struggle, by brave men, many of whom perished in the fight, famous men like the Hampdens and Cromwells and Seldons and William Russels, and unknown men like those who fell at Peterloo. And it is embodied in that system of free Parliamentary government which has been our greatest contribution to the affairs of men.

Nor is this freedom once won for ever secure from attack. "The price of liberty," said Stuart Mill, "is eternal vigilance." The predatory hosts of Midian are always prowling round to take this freedom from us, and we need eternal vigilance to keep them at bay.

There was never a time when that need was greater than now. Liberty, as we understand it, is fighting with its back to the wall, literally from China to Peru.

The war which was to "make the world safe for democracy," in President Wilson's phrase, looks much more like making the world safe for tyranny. The dynasty has gone, but the dictators and not democracy have jumped the claim.

Draw a line from the Rhine to Vladivostock and you will not strike the territory of a monarch. They have all vanished. But neither will you strike the territory of a free democracy. From the Rhine to Vladivostock freedom is in chains. The dictators have snatched the power that the War took from the dynasts and they are exercising it as ruthlessly, sometimes even more ruthlessly, than the dynasts.

LIBERTY IS DEAD?

Germany is the latest scene of the overthrow of democracy. Parliamentary government was never a strong growth in Germany. The Kaiser loathed it, and Bismarck fought it; but they respected it and feared it as the coming power. After the War, and the fall of the Kaiser, it was assumed that it would come to full growth.

I think it would have come to full growth but for the "Peace" of Versailles and the fourteen years of insane provocation by which the Allies destroyed the constitutional regime in Germany. Truly seen, it was not Hindenburg who dismissed Bruening and put Hitler in his place. It was the Allies, under Poincare's inspiration.

But whatever the cause, Germany has joined the nations where the most elementary liberty is dead, where Parliamentary Government is at an end and where the dictators rule with an iron hand. The conditions in all these countries—Italy, Russia, Germany, Poland and the rest—are the same so far as political and personal freedom is concerned. There is none.

MONSTROUS SYSTEM

The Parliamentary system which is the bedrock of liberty, has gone, utterly as in the case of Russia, or has become a mockery as in the case of Italy and Germany. The people have no more to do with the government of their own country than they have to do with the motions of the tide or the orbit of the stars.

They have not elected their dictators and they cannot dethrone them. They are subject to a tyranny more ruthless and complete than any they suffered under the dead dynasts, who at least allowed their Parliaments freedom to talk, their newspapers freedom to write, and their people freedom to think.

All those modest rights are gone under the tyranny of the dictators. There is not a newspaper in Russia, in Italy, and now in Germany, that dare murmur a word in criticism of Stalin, Mussolini or Hitler.

If such a monstrous system prevailed here, with, say, ex-Comrade Mosley or Mr. Winston Churchill in the Stalin-Mussolini-Hitler role, John Bull and every other newspaper would have to publish what those potentates permitted or would be silenced out of hand.

And this is only the beginning of the tyranny. No political organisation is allowed to exist except that which supports the tyrant—the Fascists in the one case, the Communists in the other. The trade unions are put in irons, and no one can send a letter by post containing a comment on the Government without running the risk of being swished away to some penal island in the case of Italy or to the Siberian mines or timber forests in the case of Russia.

LIFE'S BEST THING

The Berlin correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, describing the change that has come over Germany since the dictatorship, says: "It is a new experience to see people look round anxiously before they begin a conversation, or in cafes bend across tables and speak in a low voice. During a two hours' stroll through Berlin to-day I noticed the same phenomenon over and over again. It was a sight worthy of Russia or Italy."

This hideous tyranny has spread like a plague over Europe. It has now more than half the Continent in its grip. And the war on liberty is not confined to Europe—witness the revelations of what is going on in Cuba.

It has not reached this country yet. We are still free, and while we have the wisdom to stand by our Parliamentary system democracy is assured of at least one foothold in the world. But let that anchor go and all our liberties will go with it—no matter whether the tyrant models himself on Stalin or Hitler.

Meanwhile, let us be grateful that in a world where liberty is dying we have the good fortune to be the citizens of a free country.

When Mr. H. G. Wells was asked what was the best thing that had happened to him, he said: "The best thing that ever happened to me was to be born."

What he should have said was: "The best thing that ever happened to me was to be born an Englishman."

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CONGRESS AND WHITE PAPER

PANDIT MALAVIYA'S VIEWS

The following are extracts from the presidential speech of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya prepared for the Calcutta session of the Congress:—

When I was entering Delhi to preside over the Congress last year, I was arrested and detained in jail until some time after the Congress, had met and passed its resolutions in spite of the efforts of the police to prevent it from doing so. This fact and the attitude of the Government towards the Congress as disclosed in recent official announcements, had prepared people to apprehend that I would not be allowed to attend the Congress this year also. This is no longer a matter of conjecture. While writing this note this morning I received the following letter from the Collector of Benares:—

"Dear Pandit.... The Bengal Government have advised the Local Government that the Public Safety Act is in force in Bengal and that if you and other leaders proceed to Calcutta for the Congress Session you will not be allowed to attend it. I am directed to communicate the above to you and I request that you will be so good as to pass on the warning to other leaders who may be in Benares at the present time."

I appreciate the action of the Bengal Government in sending me this warning in this courteous manner. I have informed them, however, that I see no justification for their decision that we should not be allowed to attend the Congress, and have told them by what train I intend to leave for Calcutta. Last year the Government arrested a large number of people on their way to attend the Congress at Delhi. This year also, I hear, that the police are very active in preventing people from going to Calcutta to attend the Congress.

INDIA'S UNOFFICIAL PARLIAMENT

The present attitude of the Government is morally indefensible and politically unwise. It cannot be too strongly condemned. The Congress may well be declared as the unofficial Parliament of India. It is the greatest and most active political organisation of the country. It has been in existence now for forty-seven years. It has a great record behind it. The most important constitutional and administrative reforms, which have taken place in India during the last half century, have all been due to the work or pressure of the congress. The forty-six volumes of its reports, the numerous reports of its Provincial and District Conferences, and the proceedings of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, all eloquently attest how the congress has been fighting for measure after measure with only one object in view, namely the amelioration of the condition of the people and their national advancement in all important directions. It has always pleaded for equal political rights and equal justice to all classes and sections of the people. During the last thirteen years the most respected of congressmen have repeatedly suffered imprisonment for the sake of the country's cause. For all these reasons the people regard the congress as their best friend and guide, and are ever willing to listen to its advice, even when it involves a sacrifice of their personal interests.

IRWIN-GANDHI PACT

Ever since the Montford proposals were published the congress has been pressing for the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government of India. Finding that the Government gave no sign of willingness to respond to the request, the Congress declared in 1929 that if Government would not announce their willingness to grant British Dominion Status to India up to the end of the next year, the Congress would advise the country to declare itself for complete independence. The Viceroy did make a declaration on 1st November, 1929, but that did not meet the requirements of the Congress, and consequently on the 1st day of January 1930, the Congress declared complete independence to be its goal. On the 12th March succeeding, Mahatma Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement to bring pressure to bear upon the Government to concede the minimum national demand which he clearly defined. The Government adopted strong measures to suppress the movement. Then after nearly a year's resolute administration, Lord Irwin's Government considered it wise and just to make a truce with the Congress through Mahatma Gandhi which is known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The Pact was made with the approval of the British Government. The Congress was then invited by the Prime Minister of England to send its representatives to the Round Table conference because it was felt by the Government that without the Congress the Conference could not be regarded as fully representative. The Congress appointed Mahatma Gandhi as its sole representative and he attended the Conference as such. He returned to India anxious to cooperate with the Government in the further work of the Conference.

CHANGE IN ATTITUDE

But while the Conference was going on in London, the General Election in England brought a large Conservative majority into Parliament and a strong Conservative became the Secretary of State for India. "As the result of the election" in the words of Mr. Benthal, who represented the European Merchants of Calcutta at the Conference, the 'policy undoubtedly' changed. The right wing of the new Government made up its mind to break up the Conference and to fight Congress. The Muslims who do not want Central Responsibility, were delighted. Government undoubtedly changed their policy and tried to get away with provincial Autonomy with a promise of central reform" "We have made up our minds," continues Mr. Benthal, "before this that a fight with Congress was inevitable; we felt and said that the sooner it came the better." But 'we made up our minds that for a crushing success we should have all possible friends on our side. The important thing to us seemed to be to carry the Hindu in the street represented by such people as Sapru, Jayakar, Patro and others; if we could not get them to fight Congress, we could at least ensure that they would not back Congress. We pressed upon government that the one essential earnest of good faith which would satisfy these people was to undertake to bring the provincial and Central Constitution in one Act. "So we joined with strange companions. Government saw the argument; and the Conference instead of breaking up in disorder with 100 per cent. of Hindu political India against us ended in promises of cooperation by 99 per cent. of the conference, including even such people as Malaviya, while Gandhi himself was disposed to join the standing committee."

WHY GANDHIJI WAS REFUSED INTERVIEW

In the light of these facts it becomes easy to understand why the Viceroy refused to grant an interview to Mahatma Gandhi when he so earnestly sought it with a view to remove the differences which had arisen between the Government and the Congress in some provinces and to avert resort to Civil Disobedience.

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APPLY TO MANAGER

THE SUNDAY OBSERVER

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The Government did not give him that opportunity and has kept him interned since that time. The attack on the Congress was hurled like an avalanche. The most drastic Ordinances were promulgated and extended to all parts of India which gave to officials almost unlimited power over the public and resulted in unparalleled repression throughout the country. It is estimated that nearly 120,000 persons, including several thousand women and quite a number of children, have been arrested and imprisoned during the last fifteen months.

GOVERNMENT ORDINANCES

It has been repeatedly said on behalf of the Government that its quarrel with the Congress is due to the adoption of Civil Disobedience by the Congress. I have shown above by quoting the letter of Mr. Benthal that the Conservative Party and the European community of Calcutta decided to fight the Congress not because it had taken up the Civil Disobedience movement but because it insisted upon a real transfer of power from British to Indian hands, in other words, upon having the substance of independence in the management of the country's affairs. It must be remembered that as Sir Samuel Hoare boastfully stated, the initiative this time has been with the Government. It has throughout the campaign been in the power of the Government to stop Civil Disobedience by withdrawing the Ordinances or by abandoning the policy of repression.

RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND ENGLAND

From the time of the Queen's Proclamation British statesmen have often spoken of Indians as equal fellow subjects. But they have never treated us as such upto this time. Ever since the Congress came into existence it has been urging that Self-Government should be established in India. The Congress was pressing this demand upon the Government when the Great War broke out in Europe. The King of England and British statesmen generally appealed to the people and princes of India to support England and her allies in the war because England had entered upon the war in defence of treaty rights and obligations and to establish the principle that right is might, while her opponents, the Germans, were trying to establish the contrary principle that might is right. English statesmen also said that they were fighting for freedom. As Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford said in their report: "The war has come to be regarded a struggle between liberty and despotism, a struggle for the right of small natives and for the right of all people to rule their own destinies". The speeches of American and English statesmen proclaimed (?) German militarism and for conceding the right of self-determination to all nations, small and great, India wholeheartedly helped England and her allies in the war. Englishmen generally acknowledged India's contribution to the war. They welcomed with appreciation India's aid to the Empire and spoke of Indians and Britishers as joint equal custodians of her common interests and fortunes. Notwithstanding all these assurances, the British Government has never yet agreed that India should exercise the right of self-determination to establish which she contributed her lives and treasure.

THE WHITE PAPER

The British Government has gone on preparing a constitution for the future Government of India with the help of some Indians of its own selection and liking. It has framed the constitution under the arrogant claim that it is the right and moral obligation of the British Parliament to determine to what extent and with what limitations and safeguards it will allow India to administer its own affairs. The White Paper is an ugly revelation of the attitude of British statesmen who dominate the English Parliament today towards India and her problems. It constitutes a deliberate affront to the patriotism and intelligence of India. Indeed, it proposes to make the position of Indians worse than it is to-day. It was idle to expect that a constitution born under the influence of the attitude which British statesmen entertain towards India, could be one which could be acceptable to the Indian people. It is not surprising that the White Paper is being condemned all over the country. I hope that no self-respecting Indian, who has a correct sense of his duty towards the Motherland, will take part in any further confabulations regarding the White Paper unless and until the British Government should change its present policy and should make up its mind to treat Indians as equal fellowmen who are as much entitled to complete independence in the management of their own affairs as England herself is in regard to her own affairs.

APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY

I appeal to my countrymen to wake up to the reality of the situation. I take it that every Indian wants that we should have complete freedom for the management of our own affairs. The attainment of this freedom will become easier if we will unite and work with one mind and purpose to achieve it. I implore all Hindus and Mussalmans, Sikhs, Christians and Parsees and all other countrymen to sink all communal differences and to establish political unity among all sections of the people.

The Unity Conference, which was held at Allahabad, has nearly brought about communal agreement. I earnestly hope that the Conference will soon resume its work and complete it to the satisfaction of all communities. Our national political aims are common to all parties and with the disillusionment which the White Paper has brought about I have every reason why we should be able to establish political unity in the country. If we succeed in doing so, the pressure of United India is bound to induce the British Government to revise its attitude towards India and Indians and to invite them to exercise their right of self-determination and to prepare a constitution which shall give India real independence to manage her own affairs.

POISON AT THE POINT OF PENS

MASTERS OF INVECTIVE WHO SHONE IN LITERATURE

THE ART OF GETTING ANGRY

The late Lord Morley when he was editing the "Pall Mall" was amused by a young journalist who, when asked his particular line, replied "Invective." "Invective? May I ask against whom?" "Oh anything General invective." One recognises that impartial faculty for getting angry. It can produce sneers, tropes, tremendous metaphors; out of it some pages of memorable prose have been written. It is delicious to experience, for it is accompanied by a glowing sense of superiority and it can be an immense stimulus to composition. It can be cultivated at the sacrifice of some spiritual honesty; for that is the price which must be paid. Success depends upon rapidly draining the contents of your private reservoir of resentments, vainglory, thwarted ambitions, wrongs and grudges into general channels. Such emotions are ductile. It is particularly easy to make, for instance, a little current of envy turn furiously the mills of righteous indignation. But it is essential to be unconscious of the sources of this energy. Hence the necessity in the adopt of a certain fundamental dishonesty or lack of self-awareness which, whether inborn or acquired will sooner or later make a fool of him says a writer in the "New Statesman." And there is also another drawback. Invective which has become a habit is apt, like charm, to lose its proper virtue; for both depend for their effectiveness on spontaneity. Personal charm which has been incontinently used for personal ends, from winning hearts to securing corner seats in Railway carriages, in time grows blowsy. It loses the brave delicacy and sweet candour proper to it though its possessor may be unaware that other perceive it to be a too obvious contentment in the slack sarcastic phrase, are actually balm to any wounds which deadly statement may have inflicted. The victim is relieved by the reflection that all the world will see that the writer is licking the chops of his own malice, or executing a mere war-dance instead of thrusting at the vitals of his enemy.

MATTER OF GLORIOUS INVECTIVE

Swinbarne was master of a glorious exuberant invective, but I doubt if his blatant, that he becomes a sort of fool.

In the same way the adept at invective grows unaware that something is creeping into his style which makes it ineffective. His invective may still amuse, even impress the detached reader but it has become incapable of giving that pain to the object of it, and of inspiring deep dismay, which are the proper ends of invective. A self-delighting exuberance in animosity. fiercest trades gave much pain to even Dr. Furnival or Robert Buchanan. The effect of "Under the Microscope" upon a reader is to convince him, first and foremost, that it must have been immense fun to write it and that after giving rein to his emotions the author must have been in a state of mind approaching a sunset calm. This, of course, is fatal to the proper purpose of invective.

WHO WAS JUNIUS?

I have been re-reading "The Letters of Junius" in Mr. C.W. Everett's excellent edition (Faber and Gwyor 21s.,)and I have been wondering how much pain they gave to the Dukes of Grafton and Bedford. Mr. Everett by the bye, holds that the letters were written by William Petty-Fitzmaurice, Earl of Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne. He supports this view with what seems to me strong evidence. The usual attribution is to Sir Philip Francis and the point cannot be completely proved, but Mr. Everett seems to make out the better case. Lord Shelburne had been forced out of office by Grafton, Bedford and George III which accounts for the unmistakable personal bitterness and the vindictiveness of his famous attacks upon them. The degree of acquaintance with military and legal matters which 'Junius' shows is, is consonant with Shelburne's career. The attitude of "Junius" towards the throne, the compulsion of the colonies by military force, the violence of his feelings over the appointment of Lord Hillsborough to the Secretaryship of State for the Colonies (Hillsborough superseded Shelburne) the line he takes about Wilkes and the Middlesex election, his belief in triennial parliaments combined with his support of 'rotten boroughs' his detestation of Lord Mansfield all correspond exactly with the views and feelings of Shelburne; while undoubtedly Shelburne was able enough to be the author. I am not enough of a historian or of a specialist in hand-writing to weigh the merits of the two attributions but I shall be surprised if Mr. Everett's edition does not shake the confidence of Franciscans.

METHODS OF JUNIUS

To return to invective. The famous letters on the whole strike me as examples of that unduly careful invective which defeats its own end. The attention of the reader is drawn more to the author's skill in sarcasm than to the delinquencies castigated. Had I been the Duke of Grafton, the following neat summary of my political career would have made me most uneasy.

Your Grace's conduct as a minister is but the counterpart of your private history; the same inconsistency, the same contradictions. In America we trace you from the first opposition to the Stamp Act on principles of convenience, to Mr. Pitt's surrender of the right; then forward to Lord Rockingham's surrender of the fact: then back again to Lord Rockingham's declaration of the right: then forward to taxation with Mr. Townshend; and, in the last instance from the gentle Conway's undetermined discretion, to blood and compulsion with the Duke of Bedford. Yet, if we may believe the simplicity of Lord North's eloquence, at the opening of next session, you are once more to be the patron of America. Is this the wisdom of a great minister? or is it the ominous vibration of a pendulum? Had you no opinion of your own, my Lord? or was it the gratification of betraying every party with which you have been united and of deserting every political principle in which you had concurred?

NOT EFFECTIVE

But what a relief it would have been when "Junius" held me up to opprobrium for taking my mistress to the Opera and for marrying the first cousin of the man who had run away with my wife! The Duke of Bedford, too, whose reputation was certainly vulnerable must have been consoled for many a wound dealt him by "Junius" on discovering that the sole ground for charging him with having received bribes from the French when ambassador in Paris was only after all a certain habitual caution in spending his vast revenues and that the public was asked to believe him to be ignobly heartless because he had transacted business on the day his son was killed. But above all it is Junius' manner that robs his invective of its full effect. Compare that for a moment with the devastating insolence of Whistler: "Why my dear old Tom I never was serious with you even when you were among us. Indeed I killed you quite, as who should say, without seriousness. 'A rat! A rat!' you know, rather cursorily, which describes accurately enough Whistler's methods of attack. A writer who is indignant or contemptuous should have the air of striking because he cannot help doing so and of hitting because such a target cannot be missed, not of dropping poison carefully into a graduated glass. Ruskin, another master of invective, learnt from Carlyle the value of apparent carelessness in attack. His invective is the fever of a fine spirit.

"So thi's gotten thisens med inter a borough, eh? Like we've bin these twenty year,' said one Lancashire lad to another. "An' now ye'll hev a major, too?"

"Oo, dye, we've getten mayor."

'Chain an' a', eh?"

"Chain? We've noan chain."

"No chain! Heven't mayor got fine chain? Ours 'as gradely chain roun's neck."

"Eh, no. We let our beggar run loose."

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ASSAULT ON THE EVEREST

HOW CLIMBERS FARE ON HIGH ALTITUDES

Mr. J. M. Scott, Secretary of the Mount Everest Expedition, 1933, writes in the "Daily Telegraph" in mail week:—It is more than likely that the Expedition will begin their 300-mile march to Mount Everest by the old route along the Chumbi Valley. It is probably too early in the season to take heavily laden animals over the Serpo La though that is the more direct route to Kampa Dzong.

In any case, they will travel to Tingri Dzong before turning southward to approach Mount Everest from the north, and halt at the old Base Camp beyond the Rongbuk Monastery.

BEFORE THE FINAL ASSAULT

As before, the hard work so far will have been done by yaks and mules while the European climbers and the Sherpa porters travelled light to save their strength for the mountain itself.

There is only one route up Mount Everest; so much was established on the first expedition. The camps, with the possible exception of No. VI, will be in much the same position as in 1922 and 1924.

Since the plan of campaign must be so similar, one may be inclined to wonder why this expedition should have any better chance of success. Again time and weather will be all important, and there is no reason to believe that the monsoon will arrive later or that the weather which precedes it will be calmer this year.

The forecasts received by wireless may enable the climbers to alter their plans sooner than was possible on former expeditions but that is all. The personnel is different, but one must not presume that it is better.

Consequently the problem before Mr. Ruttledge has been to improve in the light of former experience, the organisation and equipment; to get his party to the Base Camp in still better condition; to save them from worry if he cannot save them from fatigue; and lessen if possible the climbing hours of the final assault.

FASTIDIOUS FOOD TASTES

The first consideration, naturally, was that of food, for climbers at high altitude are notoriously particular about what they eat. As the atmospheric pressure decreases, so tastes become more fastidious, until eating becomes a penance.

In 1924 every variety of food was packed in a separate box, and the high climbing rations were not arranged until the party reached Base Camp. Such an arrangement pandered to individual tastes, but increased enormously the work of the transport officers.

This year an attempt has been made to provide ration boxes, each containing all the food a man requires for a certain number of days. The trouble was to select the foods. For sea-level work it is possible to calculate a ration which is scientifically perfect, possesses sufficient calories to keep a man warm through hard work in cold weather, and contains the essential vitamins.

Physiologically this ration should be almost as efficient at 25,000 feet as it is at sea level at the same temperature. But when the suggested list was shown to the climbers—butter, pemmican, ground vegetables, and so on—they declared that they would be totally incapable of eating it. Finally, three separate rations were evolved, being compromises between the scientific and the personal tastes of the climbers.

For the long march across Tibet the food will be much the same as one might take on any camping holiday, though simplicity has been the chief objective, so that the climbers may be more likely to appreciate the tasty foods preserved for higher altitudes.

Since pack animals can go no farther than the Base Camp, the stores for the glacier must be reduced to a minimum. Here there comes into force a two pounds a day ration, in which meat has already been reduced and condensed milk and sweet foods added, chiefly in a form in which they can be sucked while climbing. For the sake of simplicity only soups and drink must be "cooked."

OPENING THE "CHRISTMAS BOXES"

For Camp IV, and above the ration changes again to one of 30 oz. a day, the maximum that a man can eat at 23,000 ft. A third of this is sugar in one form or another; there is no meat and only one oz. of butter; but the proportion of protein has been maintained as far as possible by the addition of condensed and dried milks.

Camp III should be a much more comfortable resting place than it was in 1924, for the other camps the light climbing tents will be much the same as before, but here it should be possible to erect three large, double canvas, dome-shaped tents, modelled on one which kept a man alive through a Greenland winter at 9,000 ft.

This will be the advanced base where the "Christmas boxes" will be stored. These are quite separate from the ration boxes, for the only guiding principle in filling them has been the long lists of food preferences sent in by members of the expedition. They will be opened on special occasions or to allow a climber to fill his pockets with his favourite food before starting for the higher camps.

Apart from the nailed climbing boots which are essential on steep ice and rocks, the clothing will be very much of Arctic pattern: a hooded smock of windproof cloth and baggy windproof trousers outside a few layers of woolly clothes to hold a pad of warm air against the body.

Guided by the experience of 1924, the stoves and cooking pots have been modified to simplify the tiring business of making supper and it is hoped that the new pattern of dark glasses will reduce the likelihood of snow blindness.

Everything has been worked out as methodically as possible in England to lighten the task of weary men whose mental functions have been slowed down by lack of oxygen. Equipment and food have been packed in weights suitable for porterage at the various altitudes, from 40 lb. at Base Camp to 20 lb. or less above Camp IV.

Every package has been numbered and marked with coloured bands to correspond with the camp where it will be used. There is a complete indexed store book so that every article can be found or crossed out when it has been used with a minimum of delay.

The whole plan of advance up the mountain how one party will go ahead to establish a camp and retire to rest while a fresh party goes on to make a higher camp—is too complicated to be analysed at present. Probably it will not vary very much from that of 1924 and it must depend entirely upon local conditions. But we may consider probably the most interesting point—the final assault from the highest camp.

In 1924 Camp IV was pitched at 27,000 ft. and Col. Norton, climbing from there on a fair day, had to turn back at 28,126 ft. or spend the night out on the mountain, which in his exhausted condition might have proved fatal.

Mallory and Irvine never returned, and it is a matter of conjecture whether they slipped, roped together or whether finding themselves behind their time schedule, they still went on, were benighted and frozen to death.

But, barring accidents, the problem resolves itself into a race against darkness, for the actual climbing, though demanding great natural skill and determination at that altitude, is by no means technically impossible.

This year Camp VI, may be pushed a little further up the mountain or else a Camp. VII may be established within some 1,200 ft. of the summit if there exists a patch of rock or snow sufficiently large and level to support a tent. If this cannot be found there may still be some cranny large enough to hold a sleeping bag which would keep life in a benighted climber until day-break.

PORTABLE SUPPLIES OF OXYGEN

If none of these possibilities is practicable the climbers must increase their pace, either by their better physical condition or by the use of oxygen. Oxygen has few advocates among those who have used it upon a mountain, but the apparatus to be used is less than half of the weight of that used in 1924.

Even though the men, grown unreasonable at such an altitude, may be loath to wear the necessary mask or mouthpiece while they climb, the apparatus has been constructed in such a portable form that there should be little difficulty in carrying it even to the highest camp.

Here it may be used to revive sick men or to encourage that comfortable rest which is so important and so very difficult to achieve on the night before an attempt on the summit.

TRUMPED

A group of men were sitting at dinner when one of them named Jimson produced a pack of cards.

Putting the cards on the table, he said: "I will bet any man in the company a shilling that I will cut the ace of diamonds first time."

"That's on," said Brown.

Jimson asked for the loan of a sharp knife, with which he cut the pack of cards through the middle.

"There you are, Brown," he said, "you've lost your shilling."

"Not a bit of it," said Brown. "I put the ace of diamonds in my pocket while you were borrowing the knife.

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